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MARKET STREET, PHILADELPHIA

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MARKET STREET
PHILADELPHIA

The Most Historic Highway in America
Its Merchants and Its Story

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By
JOSEPH JACKSON
Member of the American Historical Association, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, City History Society of Philadelphia

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JOSEPH JACKSON
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PREFACE

No more was intended in this volume than to make a gossipy, topographical survey of the most historic highway in America. The word history has not been applied to it because to have done this would justly incur the charge that it has not been presented in a scientific manner. It might also be urged that for a history the style is too familiar.

Having written the story of Arch street and of its more important residents a few years ago, for the Sunday magazine of the *Public Ledger,* and the series having been favorably received, the writer was requested to apply the same kind of treatment to the history of another prominent thoroughfare, and this story of Market Street and Its Merchants was the result. Run as a serial during many weeks in 1914 and 1915, the object aimed at was to keep the interest alive by avoiding the inflexible style usually associated with a history, but at the same time to visit sources for the facts.

In the main those sources have been the city directories and maps. Information has been kindly offered by many readers of the series, and while all the indebtedness to persons or volumes cannot be told in detail here, it will be found that in the majority of instances the source is mentioned where the facts are given. As the addition of notes would have destroyed the popular character of the work, they have been omitted.

It is believed that in the Appendix the seekers of sites on Market street will find a useful guide; and, in the illustrations what is informa-

tive has been attained. While necessarily the subject has not been exhausted, it is hoped that enough of the notable past of the ancient highway has been told to give Philadelphians even more pride in their city, and to those readers who are not residents a new inspiration.

Those who read the series when it was first published in the columns of the *Public Ledger* will note many additions and corrections in the text and that more than one-third of the illustrations are new.

To the Public Ledger Company which has generously permitted the use of material contributed to its Sunday edition, acknowledgment of the courtesy is gratefully made.

JOSEPH JACKSON.

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Page 1, line 3, omit first *"of."*
Illustration, opposite page 16, for open halls, read open *stalls.*
Illustration, opposite page 43, for northeast, read *northwest.*
Page 49, line 30 for Armbruster, read *Ambruster.*
Page 88, in chapter heading, for Alfred read *Albert.*
Page 114, line 18, for John, read *Joseph.*
Illustration, opposite page 126, first line, for right read *left;* second line, for 1832 read *832.*
Page 156, line 15, for panorama for, read *panorama of.*
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MARKET STREET FERRIES, LOOKING FROM FRONT STREET, ABOUT 1892

When Delaware avenue was widened about twenty years ago, a new ferry house was erected by the Pennsylvania Railroad. The street cars shown are of the variety known as cable cars.

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MARKET STREET, PHILADELPHIA

Its Merchants and Its Story

CHAPTER I

THE HIGH STREET, FERRIES AND RIVER FRONT

Like many another of the original streets named by William Penn when he came over and looked upon the city of his dreams, Market street did not retain the name of the founder of the city bestowed upon it. On the plan which Thomas Holme drew of the city in 1682, Market street, which was intended to be the principal thoroughfare of Philadelphia, is named High, the only street on the plan which bears any name at all, excepting Broad street, and as events proved, the Founder's expectations regarding the importance of the High street were realized, for it has had a most eventful history.

There probably are very few persons interested in the city's history who are ignorant of the fact that Market street originally and up to about sixty years ago was officially named High street. But the origin and meaning of that name, which was an importation from England, is not so familiar. One would not naturally think of looking for information or illustrative facts about early Philadelphia in the story of the days of the Roman occupation of Britain, yet it is to the England of that remote period that we must look if we desire to know the origin of High street.

In the account of the city which accompanies the "Letter from William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders," which was printed in London in 1683, Thomas Holme refers to the design of the city in these words:

"The city (as the model shows) consists of a large Front street to each river, and a High street (near the middle) from Front (or River) to Front, of 100 foot broad, and a Broad street in the middle of the city, from side to side, of the like breadth. In the centre of the city is a square of ten acres; at each angle are to be houses for public affairs, as a meeting place, Assembly or State House, market house, schoolhouse, and several other buildings for public concerns. There are also in each quarter of the city a square of eight acres, to be for the like uses, as Moorefields in London; and eight streets (besides the High street, that runs from Front to Front), and twenty streets (besides the Broad street) that run across the city, from side to side; all these streets are fifty foot breadth."

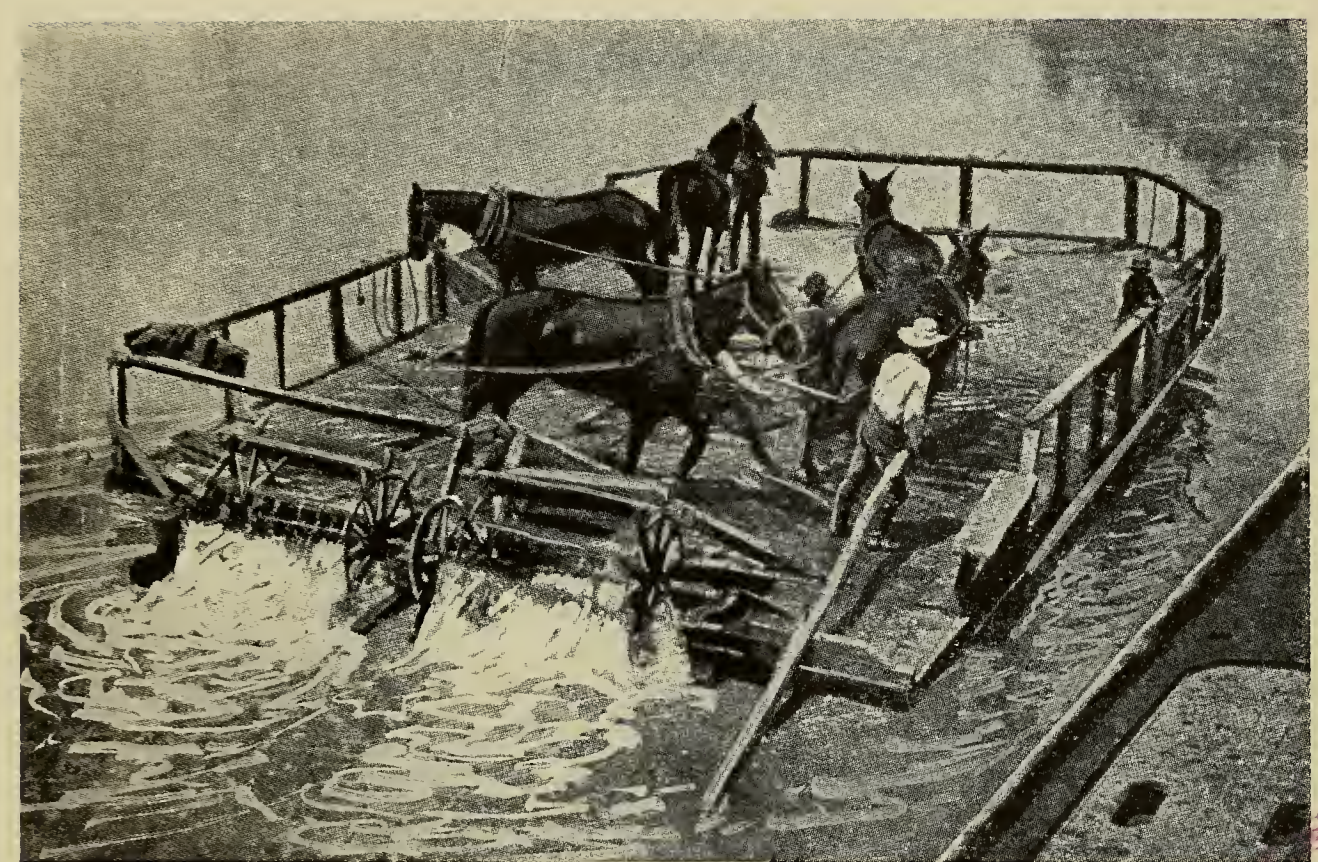
Nearly every old English town to this day has its High street, by which the main artery of travel through it is generally called, and has been so named for centuries. It came to be a popular designation of the principal thoroughfare of a town, or its main traveled road.

Famed as they were for many civilizing conveniences, the Romans are still recalled as the foremost road builders of Europe. When they conquered Britain, they immediately, from military consideration, of course, set to work to make roads. They taught Europe how to make a roadway, although their method would be regarded as expensive in these days of scientific management, but then when the Romans built a road, it was not for the purpose of making a showing on a ledger, but to remain of use for ages.

While they did not always follow the specifications for road-making laid down for them in the works of Vitruvius, in general they did not greatly depart from the essentials. First they made parallel furrows along the line of the road, and after removing all the loose earth between these bounds, and having reached the hard earth, they then filled in the trench with fine earth well packed to make it firm. Small, square stones were carefully laid on this foundation, and usually fresh mortar was poured over them. Upon this small broken stone mixed with lime was thrown. Then came another stratum, consisting of broken stone, lime, chalk, gravel and broken tile, all mixed with clay. These four layers only formed the foundation for the roadway, which was the final layer. This consisted of larger cut stones, sometimes as large as flag stones, and usually of the size of granite paving blocks. Sometimes the roadway itself was composed of a mixture of gravel and lime.

It will be imagined that these five layers of paving must have raised the roadway to a considerable height; oftentimes to a real embankment above the surrounding ground. The Romans in road building carried their roads straight over hills and even such low mountains as are to be found in England, and their general aspect whether encountered on a plain or over a mountain was high. The height was noticeable and insistent, and in course of time, long after the Romans had ceased to govern the island kingdom, the main roads became known when they passed through a village or town, as the High street, or the Highway. Roman roads, which were numerous in England and Wales, were of great length, but they were called by the Saxons straets, a word akin to strata, and thus we get not only the name High, but the word street, also, from the dwellers in ancient Britain.

But if Philadelphia is indebted to England for the name High street, which undoubtedly is the case, nearly every American city or town founded since 1700 is, in turn, indebted to Philadelphia for its Market street, which is particularly Philadelphian in street nomenclature. This, too, was due to the plan of Penn, who, long before his



TYPE OF HORSEBOAT ONCE USED ON THE DELAWARE

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This photograph was made of the last boat of its kind plying the Mississippi, but it gives an idea of the ferry once a familar object at the foot of Market street.

city was laid out or settled, had provided a wide High street, where markets could be held on regular days of the week under certain restrictions and rules. Before that time no city or town in the colonies had made a like provision for its inhabitants.

The markets which from very early in the city's history were characteristic of the High street caused the inhabitants to refer to the latter as Market street, just as the arch over Mulberry street at Front involuntarily led Philadelphians to allude to the street as Arch. In 1853, the year before the consolidation of the city, the name of the street was officially changed to conform with usage.

Important as Market street was to become, the first wharf erected after Penn's arrival and the laying out of the city was not built at the foot of that street, but in the rear of Samuel Carpenter's lot, which would place it somewhere between Walnut and Chestnut streets. This wharf was erected in 1685, and probably was a very small pier. Ten years later a ferry was established from Arch street to the Jersey side of the river, the Grand Jury of Gloucester County, N. J., in 1695 having granted permission to Daniel Cooper to maintain a transportation line between the two colonies. Cooper's ferry thus may be said to have been virtually the oldest regular line of communication between Philadelphia and the Jersey shore.

Samuel Carpenter, mentioned above, probably was the richest man in Philadelphia in the early years of the city's history, and the second man in point of wealth at that time was Samuel Richardson, whom the late Governor Pennypacker was proud to claim as an ancestor. Carpenter owned all the land on the north side of Market street, from Second street to the Delaware river, and held many offices of distinction in the Province. He was one of the first six aldermen appointed by Penn in his first charter of the city, dated "Third month 20th, 1691," or more properly, May 30, 1691. A member of the Provincial Assembly, a provincial councillor and a judge of the Common Pleas of Philadelphia county, he was a man of influence. It is evident he lost nothing on his real estate venture, for it is said he sold it off in ground rents that ran for a hundred years.

The foot of every street in the city proper in the early years of the city was a public landing. Thus, while there was a ferry house at Arch street, and later at Market street, these were independent of the public landing, and had to be constructed either above or below the landing.

What is believed to be the earliest view of the city's water front is that which may be seen in the Philadelphia Library. This is the long "Prospective View of Philadelphia from the South West," by Peter Cooper, which is believed to have been painted before the year 1720. Peter Cooper, who in 1717 was admitted a freeman of the city

of Philadelphia, is described in the minutes of the Common Council as a painter. The example of his pictorial efforts compels the belief that Cooper was a house painter, and that when he painted this view of the water front had in mind to make his picture astonishing rather than accurate.

The history of the view is interesting. It was bought in London by George M. Dallas, while he was United States Minister to the Court of St. James, and he explains in a letter that his attention was called to the relic by a member of Parliament, who told him of its existence in a curiosity shop in London. The view is painted on canvas, and is eight feet long and about eighteen inches in height. Mr. Dallas bought it in the early part of the year 1857, and forwarded it to the Philadelphia Library Company.

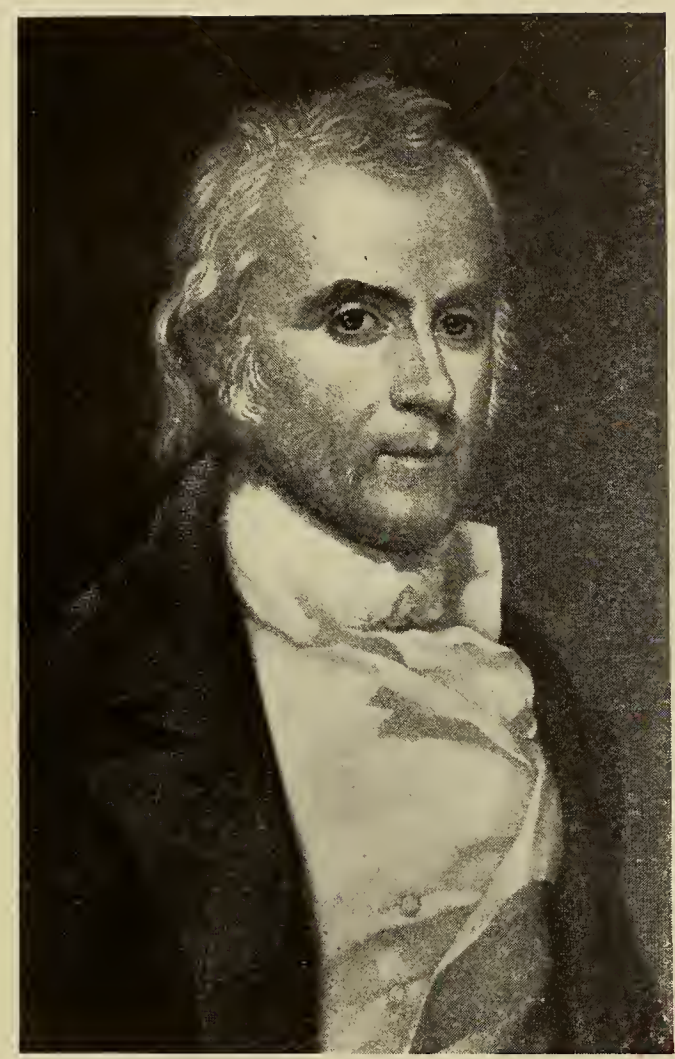
From descriptions of the city, which are authentic and reliable, it is known that Cooper relied more upon an inventive faculty than he did upon accurate observation in painting the picture. He shows many spires surmounted by large balls; five-story houses are the rule, rather than the exception, and all are thrown together so promiscuously that there is no indication of streets or public landing places. Interesting as the work is as an early attempt at landscape painting in this country, yet as historical data it must be admitted to have little value.

A much better view of the river front was published as a plate to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1761, but this plate evidently was not founded upon Cooper's picture, but upon the view of Scull. Scull & Heap's map of 1750 indicates Cooper's Ferry, which at that time evidently started on this side of the river from Arch street.

Early in the eighteenth century Market street wharf was a busy landing place. It was there that the boats which ran from Burlington to this city and connected with the stage coaches through New Jersey to Staten Island departed and arrived. All those who have read Franklin's "Autobiography" will recall that it was at Market street wharf that Sunday morning in the year of 1723 that the youthful printer made his inauspicious entrance to Philadelphia while her citizens were in church.

Market street wharf in the early years was the principal landing place of the boats which brought to the market here the Jersey produce, and there was a regular traffic between the two colonies, which on two days of the week was large for those days. It was a wood wharf, and from very early times there was a fish market just above it on the hill between the wharf and what is now Water street.

For nearly a quarter of a century after the founding of the city, Front street was the only thoroughfare near the river. Between it and the river on the bank, from time to time, other structures were put up, and these became so numerous that in 1705 King street, now Water



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PAUL BECK, JR.
Merchant and Philanthropist

street, was laid out. While this may have improved the situation along the river front for a time, by the end of the century the wharves were not easily approached. The wretched condition of the rambling structures which were clustered around the water front attracted the attention of Paul Beck, who in 1785 had his counting house at the foot of Market street, and in 1820 he devised and published a plan for the improvement of the water front of the city from Vine to Spruce streets. This was the first ambitious piece of city planning the city had known, and it was startling in its originality and in the daring of its conception.

Briefly, the plan was for the city to acquire all the property from Vine to Spruce streets, and between Front street and the river, and after removing all buildings to erect a series of stores built in pairs, each block extending from Front street to a new avenue, averaging seventy-five feet in width, along the river, and having alleys between each pair. The stores were to front on what was called New Water street, a thoroughfare that was to parallel Front street and be separated from it by a stone wall. The estimated cost of this improvement, according to Mr. Beck, and based upon the figures of William Strickland, the architect and engineer, was $3,651,000.

This plan may be said to have been the first glimpse of the future Delaware avenue, and may have suggested to Stephen Girard the bequest to the city of Philadelphia for the purpose of laying out, paving and maintaining a wide street along the river. At any rate, when he had read the plan of Beck, which had been submitted to him for his opinion, Girard rather ill-naturedly opposed it, on the score that the neighborhood in which he had lived for more than forty years was as healthful as any other section of the city. It is true that Beck had offered his plan as a sanitary improvement, for he believed, as did many other Philadelphians of the time, that the yellow fever was caused by the unsanitary condition of buildings on the river front of the city.

With Girard's opposition the plan fell through, and yet, when he came to write his will, less than a dozen years later, he left a bequest of $500,000 to the city for an improvement that, apart from the building program, was rather the same in effect as that of Beck. There was another difference, and that was that while Beck's plan would have been a revenue producer as well as a public improvement, Girard's money was left for a public improvement that was not directly a producer of revenue to the city.

In spite of the fact that the city levied a small sum on all of the wood landed on High street wharf, in 1720 Common Council decided that the city wharves were not paying, and it agreed to accept the offer of Aldermen Masters and Redman, and lease them High street wharf for seven years at an annual rent of £6. In 1735 the corporation of the city petitioned the Governor to obtain possession of the ferry at

High street, which was operated between that point and "William Cooper's" on the Jersey side of the river. "William Cooper's" probably was what later became known as Cooper's Point.

Subsequently there were two ferries at the foot of Market street. In 1800 the upper ferry was operated by Benjamin Reeves, to Market street, Camden. In 1832 Isaac Reeves owned it, and in 1841 it was Pierson's upper ferry, and from it ran the boats which connected with the stage which ran down to Absecon, now Atlantic City, Great Egg Harbor and May's Landing, on three days a week. The start from the ferry had to be made at 4 o'clock in the morning, and about twelve hours were required to reach the seashore. The stage returned on alternate days.

During the late years of the eighteenth century the upper ferry was owned by Scattergood, and a few years later the lower ferry was operated by John Negus.

That High street wharf was one of the early built landing places is shown by the fact that in 1704 it was found in need of repair.

Ritter, in his "Philadelphia and Her Merchants," gives a lively description of the neighborhood of Market, or High street wharf, about the year 1800. He describes the ferry house at the northern corner of High street and the river front as a frame building of two stories in height. This, he adds, was purchased by Girard. At the southwest corner of the avenue and High, or Market street, was another frame building. This was a grocery and fish store. The hill from Front street toward the river in those days was much steeper than it is at present, and in the winter season when snow was on the ground the boys used it as a toboggan slide.

In the summer of 1819 another epidemic of yellow fever threatened the city. A case was discovered in the upper ferry tavern or ferry house, and as a result of the disease two persons died and twenty in all were affected. It probably was this visitation of the dread disease that called forth Paul Beck's plan for the improvement of the river front.

The fish market stood in the middle of Market street from Water street to the wharf from very early times, although before the building of the market shed west of the Court House in 1709 the markets were held in the open and consisted of stalls put up very much as they are still to be found in the curb markets on South street, excepting that they were located in the middle of the street. The fish market was built a few years later, and in 1816 an entirely new shed was erected and opened. This structure stood until about 1860, when all the sheds on Market street were taken down.

Steam ferry boats appear to have been first used to cross the river here about 1810. Before that time ferries, boats which would transport

FISH MARKET IN MARKET STREET, EAST OF WATER, 1850

This shed, built in 1816 and removed in 1860, occupied the site used from early times for the sale of fish

MARKET STREET WHARF IN 1830

From a drawing by William Russell Birch which was published in *The Casket*, October, 1832.

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from twelve to fifteen persons; "horseboats," to carry vehicles and their steeds across the river; and "teamboats," or horse ferries, which were propelled by horse power, were used. The horse ferries were propelled by horses walking in a circle and turning a capstan giving motion to the wheels. A boat of this description was in use on the Mississippi river at St. Mary's, Mo., up to about ten years ago, and as it answers the description of the old ferries at Market street, it is pictured here.

Of the steamboats operated from Market street wharf in the early years of the last century, there was one named the "Ridgway," built for Benjamin Reeves, who was proprietor of the Upper Ferry, and whose boats ran from Market street on this side to Cooper street on the Camden side of the river. Another steam ferry boat, operated about the same time, was the "Washington," which made trips from Market street to Market street, Camden. There were also other steam ferry boats which were familiar by name, such as the "Phœnix," "Constitution," "Moses Lancaster" and "Independence."

A characteristic view of the Market street ferries as they appeared about 1830 was painted by William Russell Birch, and the view was engraved for the October number of *The Casket* in 1832, probably redrawn upon the wood by Birch himself, and giving more detail than appears in photographs of the original water-color painting.

An explanation accompanies the plate in the magazine and, as it describes the vicinity in 1832, it may prove informing:

> The house on the extreme left, on the south side of High street and fronting the river, is a large three-story building occupied as a merchant's store, and connected with a hotel, kept by Mr. Joseph Burr. A steamboat line to Camden is connected with it, the starting point for which on the Delaware shore may be seen immediately in front, where vehicles and passengers are represented as in waiting for the arrival of a boat. The wharf immediately adjoining on the left is occupied by one of the Boston lines of packets.
>
> The low building in the centre is the Fish Market, erected many years since by the city authorities for the convenience of persons trading in fish and fruits. At the proper season it is abundantly stocked with excellent fish of many species from the river and ocean. In the rear of this, at the top of the hill, a view is obtained of the Jersey Market, which at all seasons of the year is plentifully filled with the produce of New Jersey; and further back, a glimpse of the old Court House, at the corner of Second and Market streets, which forms the eastern wing of what are called the "Butchers' Shambles," extending to Eighth street. Connected with the old Court House and the adjoining neighborhood are many reminiscences of an exceedingly interesting character.
>
> Adjoining the fish market on the right at Mr. Reeves' ferry is the steamboat "William Wray" at the wharf. This boat, in conjunction with the "Philadelphia," another of the same character, plies incessantly between this wharf and Camden, the trade and intercourse between the two cities in the summer season being sufficiently extensive to afford constant employment for them, as well as a number of others attached to other ferries. The house fronting the river, on the north side of Market street, is occupied as a ferry house by Isaac Reeves. It is a large and commodious four-story building, admirably adapted to the convenience and comfort of travelers.

In the background, immediately over Mr. Reeves' house, is seen the steeple of Christ Church, one of the oldest churches in the city. From Market street wharf the picture is at all times gay and pleasing. Steamboats and vessels are constantly passing and repassing, bearing away the produce of our city, and arriving with the luxuries of others—the merry song of the boatman is heard in unison with the stroke of the oar, the rattling of cordage, the unfurling of sails and the sonorous "ho! heave! yo!" of the laborer on the wharf.

The steamboat "William Wray" was named for a popular grocer, who, in 1801, had his store at 5, 7, and 11 Market street, and who has been handed down to immortality in the pages of Ritter's "Philadelphia Merchants."

The block from the river, now Delaware avenue, to Front street on Market was filled with small shops in 1785. Nearly all of them were grocery stores. At the southwest corner of Market street and the river roadway in that year was the store of Paul Beck, Jr., who had only been in business for a few years. He became one of the foremost citizens of Philadelphia, and his name is identified with many philanthropies and charities.

On the north side of Market street in the same square the corner house was the ferry house. In 1801 this was occupied by William Phares. Next to his house was the store of William Wray, and in 1785 part of Wray's site was occupied by Ralston & Holmes, grocers. In 1791 William Ralston had the store, and a few years later removed to North Front street, where his son, Robert Ralston, afterward carried on the business.

It is a curious fact that in 1801 the south side of Market street between the river front and Front street, five of the six stores were occupied by tailors. The south side in those days seemed to attract the tailors, and in the square above there were even more of the same trade.

In 1704, what was then regarded as a stately mansion, was erected at the southeast corner of Front and Market streets, by Thomas Masters, who came here from Bermuda a few years earlier, and who soon became one of the leaders in Philadelphia. He was an alderman of the city and in 1707 and 1708 was mayor. He represented the city in the assembly in 1704 and 1712, and was a member from the county in 1710 and 1716. His son, William, it appears, made violent love to Letitia Penn, the daughter of the Founder, and even undertook a journey to England to marry her, only to find she had changed her mind and had married William Aubrey.

THE "JERSEY MARKET," MARKET STREET AT FRONT, 1838

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The terminus with its clock was erected in 1822. At the corners of the streets are watchmen's boxes.

CHAPTER II

CELEBRITIES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF WATER STREET—"PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE" FROM FRONT STREET TO SECOND

There is so much to interest us in the lower end of Market street that we must pause in our progress and consider Water street.

Stephen Girard's house was in early years numbered 43 North Water street, and his warehouse, which fronted on Front street, bore the number 33 North Front street. It was in his Water street place, however, that we may in imagination again see that strange merchant whom most of us seem to think of always as an old man. It is true that Girard never was a frivolous man, even in his young days, but when he married Mary Lum, who also dwelt in Water street, he was a young man, although some of his detractors have alluded to him as an old one who sorely tried the patience of his young bride, which statement does not agree with the facts.

It was to this Water street house that the French refugees, the Count de Survilliers, Field Marshal Count Grouchy and General Lallemand were accustomed to come, especially to Sunday dinner. At an earlier period, during the terrific days of the French Revolution, there came here at times the Duke of Orleans, later Louis Philippe, and his brother, who were emigres at the time, and a little earlier still came Talleyrand, who spent a short period in the city, but not as a hatter on North Second street, as some persons have believed. In this house on North Water street, unfortunately no longer in existence, Girard died the day after Christmas, 1831, and from this dwelling began that historic funeral cortege to the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Sixth and Spruce streets, where the great financier and merchant, and, as he always proudly termed himself, mariner, was laid in the vault of General Lallemand, who had married one of his nieces.

The rebuilding of the river front and the general improvements in the neighborhood during the last eighty years have removed all traces of the buildings once occupied and used by Girard. Even the site of his building on Front street has been obliterated by the roadbed of the Market street elevated and subway line.

But there was an earlier and, in his day, a far more prominent resident of Water street. This was Chief Justice William Allen, who sat as presiding Justice over the Supreme Court of the province from 1750 until 1774.

At the time Chief Justice Allen dwelt at the corner of the first alley north of Market street, Water street bore the name of King street, but during the Revolution kings became so unpopular in the colonies that they would not even tolerate one in the name of a street, so King street suffered a change to Water. The Chief Justice was one of the most influential men in the province, and also was one of the most opulent residents in the city. The fame of his coach, drawn by four black horses, with an English coachman on the box, survives even until the present day. He had been a successful merchant, but in those days it was not an essential for a Chief Justice to be learned in the law, so he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

He took great interest in the establishment of the Academy and College of Philadelphia, subsequently the University of Pennsylvania. Indeed, his interest in this institution brought down upon his head some of the scurrilities of Isaac Hunt, the father of Leigh Hunt, who was a student of the academy, but was dismissed for his connection with the heated partisan pamphlet war which raged about the heads of Franklin and his party on one side and the Academy party on the other.

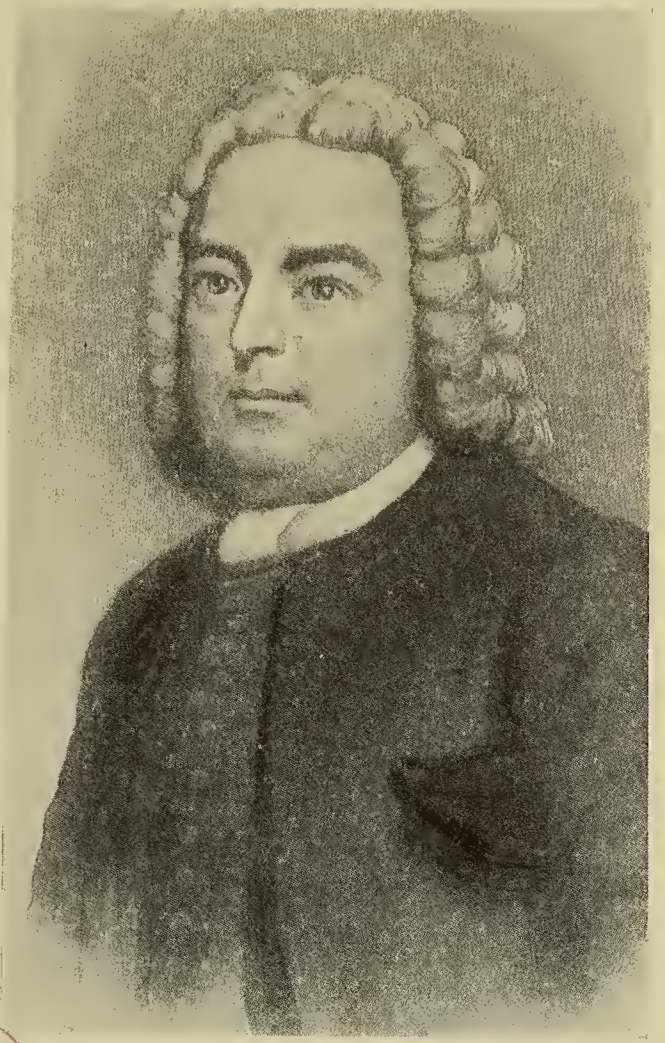
Probably the aid he lent to the expedition sent out to find the Northwest Passage in 1753 and 1754, the first Arctic expedition sent out from America, will one of these days be one of Chief Justice Allen's principal claims to be remembered by Philadelphians. He has left his name in that thoroughfare in Mt. Airy, Allen's lane, for he maintained a country place in that part of the city.

Before the Revolution Samuel Taylor, a bookbinder, had his shop at the corner of Water and Market streets, at the sign of the Book and Hand, for in those days shops and other buildings were unnumbered, and shopkeepers were accustomed to hang out a distinguishing sign.

Between Water street and the river, but on which side of the street we have no means of determining, Robert Bell, the eccentric Scotchman, who became known as the patriot printer, opened an auction house soon after he came to this country from Scotland in 1767. His advertisements in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* inform the public that he is an auctioneer and sells at the Market street shop "at the sign of the Sugar Loaf," and also at the "upper vendue house, Second street, near Vine."

Bell's business principally was the sale of books, but he had scarcely become a tenant in the Market street place before he published the first American edition of Goldsmith's "Traveler," in 1768. No publisher's name appears on the title, but it is known that Bell was the publisher. The imprint is characteristic of Bell, being simply: "Printed for every purchaser, MDCCLXVIII." The same year he also issued Johnson's "Rasselas" and "Lady Mary Montague's Poetical Works," both the first editions printed in this country.

Bell, in addition to having given to the world those famous pam-



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WILLIAM ALLEN
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1750 to 1774

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COL. ELEAZER OSWALD
Soldier, journalist, duelist and officer in two revolutions

THE
GENERAL MAGAZINE,
AND
Hiſtorical Chronicle,
For all the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America.*

[To be Continued Monthly.]

JANUARY, 1741.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN.

AMERICA'S FIRST MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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THE
TRAVELLER;
OR A
PROSPECT of SOCIETY,
A POEM.
CONTAINING
A SKETCH of the MANNERS,
OF

ITALY,	HOLLAND,
SWITZERLAND,	AND
FRANCE,	BRITAIN.

To which is added

True Beauty, a Matrimonial Tale; Likewiſe the Adventures of TOM DREADNOUGHT, who ſerved as a SOLDIER and alſo as a SAILOR, in the late WAR.

BY OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M. B.

Author of the Vicar of Wakefield, &c.

AMERICA:
PRINTED for every PURCHASER.
MDCCLXVIII.

ROBERT BELL'S FIRST PUBLICATION

phlets of Tom Paine, "Common Sense," and the series of "The Crisis" on the eve of the Revolution also is entitled to the distinction of having introduced to American readers many volumes of English literature which his courage induced him to print. Before Bell's time there were few books printed here that were not religious tracts, or almanacs, or pamphlets. But Bell gave intelligent Philadelphians, and Colonials generally, a broader literary horizon.

He finally located his printing office and bookstore next to St. Paul's church on Third street, and there he maintained a circulating library. He went to Richmond after the Revolution and died there in 1784 at the age of sixty years. In the sense that any publisher who encourages the issue of the best literature is a literary character, Bell may be said to have been the first literary character in the United States during the period in which he was engaged in business here.

In front of the old London Coffee House, which stood at the southwest corner of Front and Market streets until 1883, and about which we shall have something more to say later, it was customary for the fishermen who brought their commodity to the fish market, which stood in the middle of Market street, between Water street and the ferry, to erect a Maypole on May Day. This appears to have been the custom from very early times until some time after the Revolution. From all accounts this was the only May Day celebration annually held in the city, if we except the assertion that it was a custom among the Philadelphia blacksmiths during the same period to erect small Maypoles in front of their shops. Both fishermen and blacksmiths decorated the poles with greens and boughs and bright-colored ribbons. The custom among the blacksmiths is said to have originated with the craft in London in the thirteenth century, and to have been brought here by London blacksmiths who emigrated to Philadelphia. It is not quite so clear how the custom originated among the fishermen, but evidently was an importation from England.

Front and Market streets was regarded as the top of the hill, although Market street continues to rise until Second street is reached. From Front street to the river in the old days there was a decided grade, and the hill was even more noticeable than it is today.

We are now in the heart of the old printing district in Philadelphia. It is not known where the first William Bradford had his printing house, but there is reason to believe that it was not far from Front and Market streets. It is true that there has been an inclination to believe that the first printer in the Middle Colonies, who came here about the time the city was settled, had his first printing shop in what is now called Kensington, from a statement that it was "near Philadelphia." If Bradford really did open his first shop in Kensington, it seems certain that before many years he was in the heart of Philadelphia.

His descendants continued as printers for a full century and more after the city was founded, and their careers are centred around Front and Second streets in the neighborhood of Market.

This neighborhood until the beginning of the last century was what might have been called the Printing House Square of Philadelphia, for within a few hundred feet all the prominent printers and publishers of the city, and at the time they were among the most powerful men in their trade in the country, were to be found.

It was in this neighborhood that the first newspapers and magazines published in Philadelphia were issued, but while there is a fairly long list of the early ones, it must be remembered that all of them were not issued simultaneously.

There does not appear to be any record of the first printing office of Franklin, which was on Market street somewhere near Second. Here, in 1728, while a very young man, after leaving Keimer, Franklin and an employe of Keimer, Hugh Meredith, then just out of his apprenticeship, engaged in business, and their first book was "The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People, called Quakers," which bore the imprint of Samuel Keimer. In Second street Keimer, it appears, had printed the greater part of the work before he failed, and the completion of the book was given to the young printers.

It was in Keimer's shop that Franklin first went to work when he came to Philadelphia, and upon his return from England he went back to the eccentric printer, and there became acquainted with Meredith. The two young printers worked night and day at the "History of the Quakers," until they had it completed, and Franklin records in his "Autobiography" that it was late at night before he had finished distributing the type he had set during the day for his partner to run off on the press.

The partnership did not continue for much longer than a year, for Meredith was dissipated and a poor man of business, so he sold out his interest to Franklin. The latter continued in the shop until 1741, when his imprints mention his "new printing office near the market." This place seems to have been the one occupied by Franklin's successors in the business, Hall & Sellers. If this surmise be the correct one, that building stood on the site of the building now numbered 135 Market street, where William Hall, the son of David Hall, Franklin's partner, continued to reside until about the end of the eighteenth century. From this building in the rear there was first published the *Saturday Evening Post,* in 1821, by another successor of Franklin, Atkinson & Alexander.

It was while here, in January, 1741, that Franklin began the publication of the first monthly magazine printed in this country. It was called *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations in America.* It lasted only six months, but this

WHOLESALE
& RETAIL
TOBACCO
SEGAR STORE
ULRICH & BROTHER'S
TOBACCO & SEGAR STORE
CLOTHING

was four months longer than Andrew Bradford's magazine, which, Franklin charged, had been started by Bradford after the latter learned of his intention. All efforts to discover a copy of Bradford's magazine have resulted in failure and we must regard it as one of the "lost books."

In 1754 William Bradford, a grandson of the first printer of that name, removed from Second street to the Old London Coffee House, which he opened as a house of entertainment, and next to which on Market street he kept his printing house, at the "Sign of the Bible." He was one of the first to engage in marine insurance here.

After mastering the trade of printer with his uncle, Andrew Bradford, and having had a disagreement with the latter's second wife, William Bradford opened a printing house on Second street between Market and Chestnut streets. This was in 1742, and the next year he moved to the corner of Black Horse alley on Second street, and began the publication of the *Pennsylvania Journal.* He prospered as a printer and bookseller "at the Sign of the Bible," and in 1754, having been requested to open a place of refreshment at Front and Market streets, he leased the old building and opened it as the London Coffee House.

There had been a coffee house on Front street, near Market, kept for years by "the Widow Roberts," but she retired in 1754 and then Bradford entered upon a new business. He moved his printing office to the same location, and part of the time it was on Front street south of Market and latterly was on Market street, next to the coffee house.

This picturesque building, which was removed in 1883, was built in 1702. It stood on a part of property patented by Penn to his daughter Letitia in 1701. Letitia, who went to England the same year and married William Aubrey, sold the corner lot at Front and Market streets, having a width on Front street of 25 feet and on Market street of 100 feet, to Charles Reed, who erected the building. At the death of Reed his widow conveyed the property to Israel Pemberton, a wealthy Quaker, who willed it to his son John in 1751.

Under Bradford's management the coffee house became the busiest place in the city. It was a kind of merchants' exchange, and at times, it is said, slaves were disposed of at public sale before its doors. There is a picture in "Watson's Annals" to this effect, but, of course, it is purely imaginative. John Pemberton, who owned the building, where it seems something stronger than coffee was dispensed, after a time came to the conclusion that it was unseemly in a Quaker to permit a piece of his property to be leased for the purpose of disposing of strong drink—and coffee, so he rented the building to James Stokes to be used as a dwelling.

Before this, however, the place was let to Gifford Dailey in 1780 for a place of refreshment. The property at the death of John Pemberton passed into the possession of the Pleasant family, and then, in

1796, was sold to Stokes. At this sale only eighty-two feet on Market street were sold, the western part of the lot having been built upon.

After Dailey had the coffee house for about two years he was succeeded by Colonel Eleazer Oswald. Colonel Oswald was a fiery but excellent artillery officer in the Revolution. As a journalist he also was energetic and progressive. He came to Philadelphia in 1782 and began the publication of the *Independent Gazetteer* and the *Chronicle of Freedom*. It was the following year that he took over the London Coffee House and had his printing office next door to it. Oswald had been a partner of William Goddard in a newspaper enterprise in Maryland before he came to this city.

At the same time he was starting the *Independent Gazetteer* in this city, he was reviving the *New York Journal* in the latter city, and continued to publish both newspapers for several years. Oswald, after creating a great deal of excitement here by fighting a duel with Mathew Carey, and spending a month in jail for contempt of court in another connection, went to France at the outbreak of the French Revolution and became a colonel of artillery, for which he was eminently capable. He returned to this country when the Reign of Terror was instituted and died in New York in 1795, at the age of forty-eight years.

Mathew Carey, about whom we shall have more to relate later, began business on Front street below Market in 1784. He had just arrived from Europe, and while he was deciding what course to pursue he was invited to see Lafayette, who was in the city. The Marquis, upon learning that the young Irishman intended to start a newspaper, presented him with $400 without any solicitation on his part. Carey bought the press of Robert Bell, then recently deceased, and began the publication of *The Pennsylvania Herald,* which had a short existence.

In January, 1775, Philadelphia had two newspapers. One of these, *The Pennsylvania Ledger,* or *Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey Weekly,* was published by James Humphreys, Jr., on Front street, at the corner of Black Horse alley, which was between Market and Chestnut streets, and nearby there was issued *The Pennsylvania Evening Post,* by Benjamin Towne, who printed "in Front street near the Coffee House."

Humphreys was a Tory, and Towne, until the British came to town, was a Whig; but the *Post,* which had constantly cast suspicion on the *Ledger,* managed finally to drive Humphreys from the city. He returned when the British were here, and he left with them when they evacuated Philadelphia. Then Towne returned to his Whig principles and continued to publish his paper, although he had been prescribed as a loyalist. No person ever succeeded so magnificently in carrying water on both shoulders as did Towne, and when he died in 1782 he was in very comfortable circumstances.

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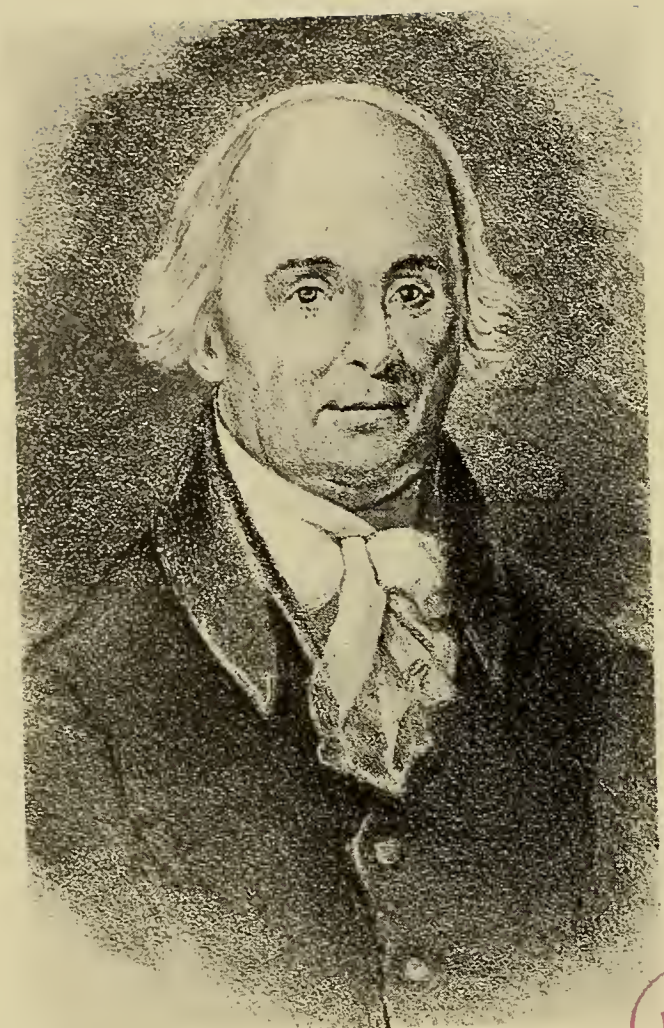

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ROBERT AITKEN

Who printed the first Bible in English in this country in 1782

Towne's *Evening Post* had the distinction of having given first publication to the Declaration of Independence, which will be found in the number for Saturday, July 6, 1776.

Other notable printers were connected with the history of the square between Front and Second on Market. Hall & Sellers, the successors of Franklin, or rather of David Hall, who had been Franklin's partner, have the distinction of having printed the first New Testament in English published in this country. The volume is so scare that at the Pennypacker sale it was announced that no other copy was known.

The English Bible was first published in America on Market street. Not only was the New Testament first printed here, but the complete Scriptures was published by Robert Aitken in 1782, in two volumes. Aitken had his printing office "at the sign of Pope's Head, above the Coffee House." This site may be placed as that of the building now numbered 110. Aitken also published the first volumes of the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," and after his death his business was conducted by his daughter Jane who, in 1808, brought out Charles Thomson's translation of the Bible in four volumes, the first translation attempted in the new world.

John Dunlap, who was one of the founders of the First City Troop and one of the early captains of that organization, was associated with David C. Claypoole in a printing house on Market street, south side, the third door east from Second. But what is more worthy of remembrance is the fact that Dunlap & Claypoole published a newspaper that was the first daily issued in this country, and in it appeared the first publication of Washington's Farewell Address.

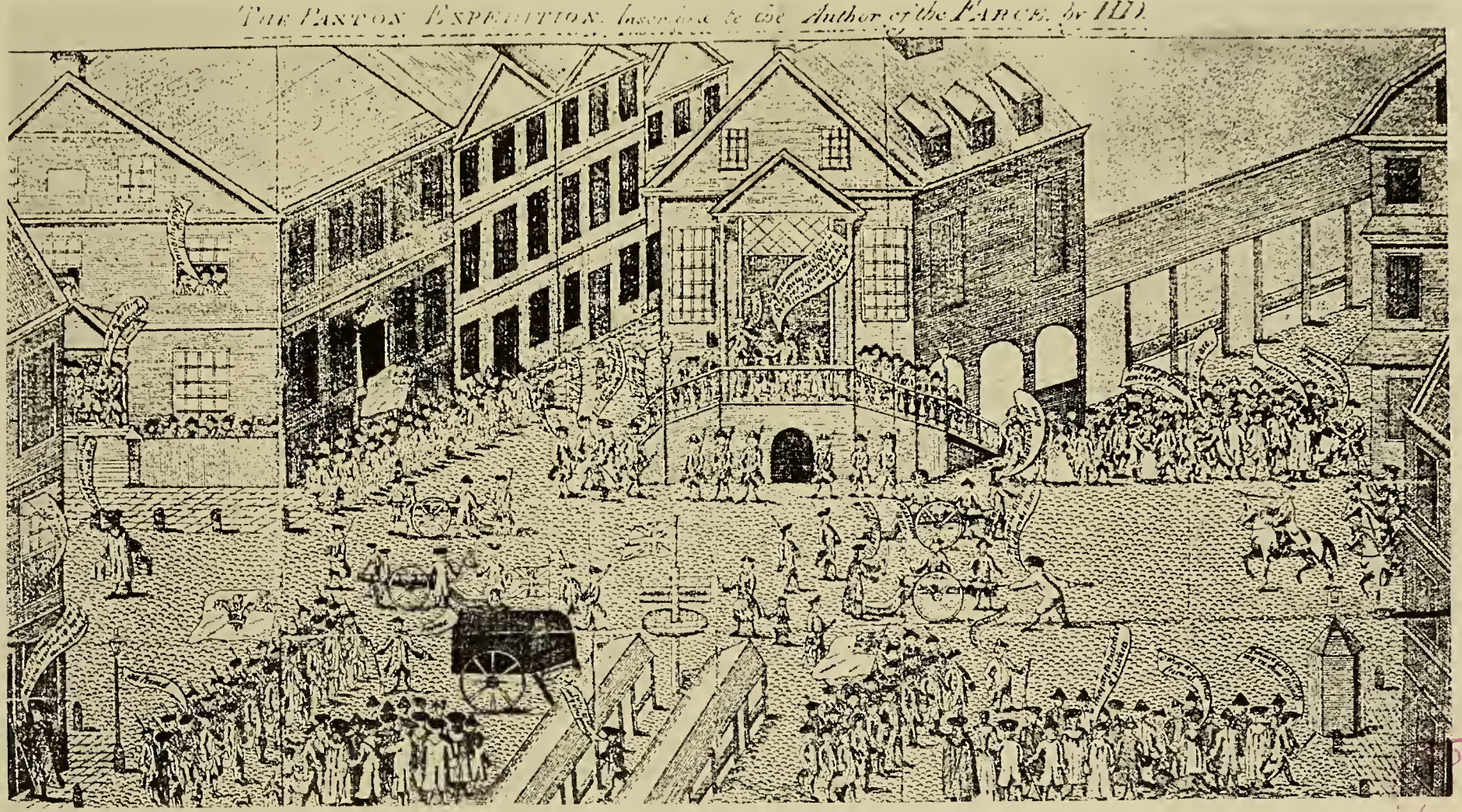
Dunlap started the *Pennsylvania Packet,* or *General Advertiser,* in November, 1771. It was then a weekly. Claypoole, who is said to have been a descendant of Oliver Cromwell, "whom he resembled in feature," according to Isaiah Thomas, was associated with Dunlap, and subsequently succeeded the latter in the publication of the newspaper. Claypoole was the publisher in 1783, and in the columns of the *General Advertiser* were printed the debates in Congress from 1783 to 1799. In 1784 Claypoole astonished his contemporaries by issuing his paper daily. Washington sent him the original manuscript of his Farewell Address and presented it to him. The proof sheets of the address were purchased by George W. Childs and presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. These proofs contain the manuscript corrections by Washington. The original manuscript was purchased by James Lenox and is now in the Lenox Library in New York.

Our journey westward has been necessarily interrupted by little side trips to spots that have a part in the annals of Market street. From very early times, in accordance with the plan, markets were held two days a week in the middle of Market street. That part devoted to

this use between Front and Second streets was called the Jersey Market. Here it was customary for farmers to come two days a week and expose their produce on stalls provided for them. A bell was put up at Front street, and it was the custom to have it rung when a boat of produce had put into the landing.

These stalls, as may be seen in a print by Henry Dawkins, were open to all weathers in 1764. This part of the city appears to have been the part that received the first permanent paving, at the suggestion of Franklin, about the middle of the eighteenth century; and here also, acting on a suggestion from the same source, street cleaners were first set to work on the city's streets, both of which improvements were immediately appreciated and continued. In the earliest days the aisle between the market stalls was covered with gravel.

The prison and pillory and stocks stood in the middle of Market street at the east side of Second during the early years of the city. The jail became a nuisance, and in 1713 the Councils talked about removing it. A lot at the southwest corner of Third and Market streets was obtained, but the prison was not removed until 1722. A little before the Revolution the old stalls were replaced by a market shed, but the terminal, with its architectural dome, which some old Philadelphians may still recall at Front and Market streets, did not come into existence until 1822. This remained as an interesting ornament to the old market shed until all were finally removed in 1859.



COURT HOUSE, SECOND AND MARKET, IN 1764

This Paxton Boy's caricature by Henry Dawkins shows the open halls of the first "Jersey Market" in the front of the building. To the left is the Friends' Meeting House.

OSTON
BLIC
LIBRA

SIXTH WARD

CHAPTER III

FRONT STREET TO SECOND, CONTINUED—PENN'S HOUSE IN LETITIA COURT—THE TOWN HALL OR COURT HOUSE

Those who desire to see the little house which was the chief attraction of Letitia street must now go out to the West Park, where, at the western end of Girard avenue bridge, stands on the embankment on Lansdowne drive all that remains of Penn's cottage. New interest was attracted to the old building at the time of the bi-centennial of the landing of William Penn in 1882, and some patriotic citizens contributed to a fund to remove the structure to its present location, where it stands on ground that once belonged to a grandson of the Founder. This removal began in June, 1883, and on October 24th of the same year the committee transferred the building to the Park Commission.

That he regarded the square from Front to Second on the south side of High or Market street as likely to become desirable seems to be indicated by the Proprietary's decision to keep half of that block for his own use. This lot originally extended from Front to Second, a length of 400 feet, and southward for half the block to Chestnut, or 172 feet. He desired that his house be built on that lot, and when he arrived here he found that his orders had been so literally obeyed that the house was being constructed almost in the centre of the land.

It happened, although unknown to Lieutenant-Governor Markham, who had been given directions, that Penn had reserved for his little daughter, Letitia, then about eight years of age, the corner lot at the southwest corner of Second and Market streets. When the Proprietary arrived here he discovered that Markham had granted that lot to the Society of Friends for a meeting house. Penn was much provoked at this misunderstanding of his orders, and in order that his daughter might be provided for, he later patented to Letitia the corner lot at the southwest corner of Front and Market streets, and this grant included the property in what then was Letitia court, where Penn's house stood.

Penn had given careful instructions as to the size and character of his house, and in accordance with his plans it was a small building of two and a half stories in height. There is a general impression that the bricks in this building had been brought from England for the purpose, but Thompson Westcott has very reasonably contended that there was no necessity for so expensive a proceeding, for before the Proprietary came here there were, especially in Burlington, which is older than

Philadelphia, brick kilns, and that Penn himself notes the canoes here, built "of one tree that fetches four tons of bricks," which rather indicates that bricks were being made here before his arrival.

The house in Letitia court was unfinished when Penn arrived, and it appears that he went to Fairman's house at Shackamaxon until it was in condition for him to dwell in. As there was no other available building in the city the Provincial Council and the Government generally had its headquarters in this mite of a building, which literally could be placed in one corner of the Mayor's reception room in the present City Hall.

When he left the city in 1684 Penn left instructions for his Lieutenant Governor to occupy his house. This much is inferred from a letter from Penn in 1687, in which he wrote: "Your improvements now require some conveniency above what my cottage has afforded you in times past." Penn returned to the city in 1699, and at that time, or before it, the office of the Government was removed from Letitia House.

When he came a second time Penn brought his daughter, now a woman of about twenty-five years, whose principal interest during her stay was to convert her property into pounds, shillings and pence. It is true that she seems to have had a flirtation with William Masters, who was popularly supposed to be her betrothed, but she and her stepmother made life unpleasant for Penn until he consented to take them back to England. Once back in England, Letitia married Aubrey, to the surprise of some good people here, including Mr. Masters, and from what has been gleaned from the letters of Penn, his son-in-law and daughter never ceased to cry for more money.

During the second visit of Penn he resided in the Slate Roof House, then on South Second street, which was a more generous mansion and more in keeping with the ideas of his wife and daughter, who were used to their comforts and did not relish the pioneer's limited conveniences.

It was during this period that an alley was opened through from Second street to Letitia court, in addition to the alley which opened on Market street. This was called Ewer's alley and subsequently Black Horse alley, evidently from the tavern sign that was displayed from an inn on its line.

Letitia court did not attract any opulent dwellers, although Christopher Ludwick, the gingerbread baker, who had a shop in the street before the Revolution, retired with a competence. Ludwick probably lived in the building numbered 3 in 1795 and in 1801, for in both years this building was occupied by bakers. In the years before the Revolution, also, there was a famed "beer house," conducted by a man named Knight, and this business was a feature of the street until about 1882, when there were two taverns beside each other, Nos. 8 and 10, each of them making claims on their signboards to be the original William Penn

House. But the claim of No. 10 was baseless. There never was any uncertainty about the building No. 8 being the real Penn Cottage, since the Penn Society gravely gave a dinner in one of the spurious houses in 1825 to commemorate the landing of Penn.

This dinner, at which speeches were made by some of the city's most prominent men, was given in a tavern which is said to have been erected across the court in the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1825 this place was known as the Leopard tavern, but after the meeting of the Penn Society its proprietor changed his sign to "Penn Hall." But the society seemed to have some fear that it had been hasty in deciding that the Leopard was the Penn Cottage, and an investigation was begun which established the right house for all time. The Penn Society, however, continued to hold its annual dinners at "Penn Hall" until 1836, when the organization appears to have dissolved. In 1880 the Penn House, that numbered 8, was known as the "Woolpack Inn."

Letitia court opened from Market street and terminated at Black Horse alley until 1856, when the street was opened through to Chestnut street.

Aside from Penn and his Lieutenant Governors who occupied his cottage in the little street, the most conspicuous resident in Letitia court was Ludwick, who, in his own simple and unconventional way, rendered great assistance to the Continental Army during the struggle for independence. Ludwick was a native of Hesse-Darmstadt, who came to this country in 1753, and after learning the business of a confectioner and gingerbread baker set up in business for himself in Letitia court.

Having lost his only child while it still was an infant, Ludwick thereafter led a retired life, attending to his trade and gaining the respect of his neighbors, who loved to allude to him as "Governor of Letitia Court." He was one of the first to feel the call of the people for liberty and offered his services to his adopted country. He was elected a member of committees and as delegate to conventions, and when the question of funds arose, he was the first to offer money from his little store. He was appointed baker general of the army and served in that capacity without pay and even provided his own rations. It was mainly through his efforts that the Continental soldiers had good bread to eat when other provisions were scarce, and he saw to it that the bread was good.

He won the recognition of Washington, who publicly thanked him for his efforts, and it was mainly due to Ludwick's influence with the mercenaries that hundreds of Hessians deserted and sought a permanent home in this country. He went to the Hessians in disguise and spoke to them of the character of the country and of its people and of the fine opportunity every man had here. The old gingerbread baker's services did not end with his death, for in his will it was found that he

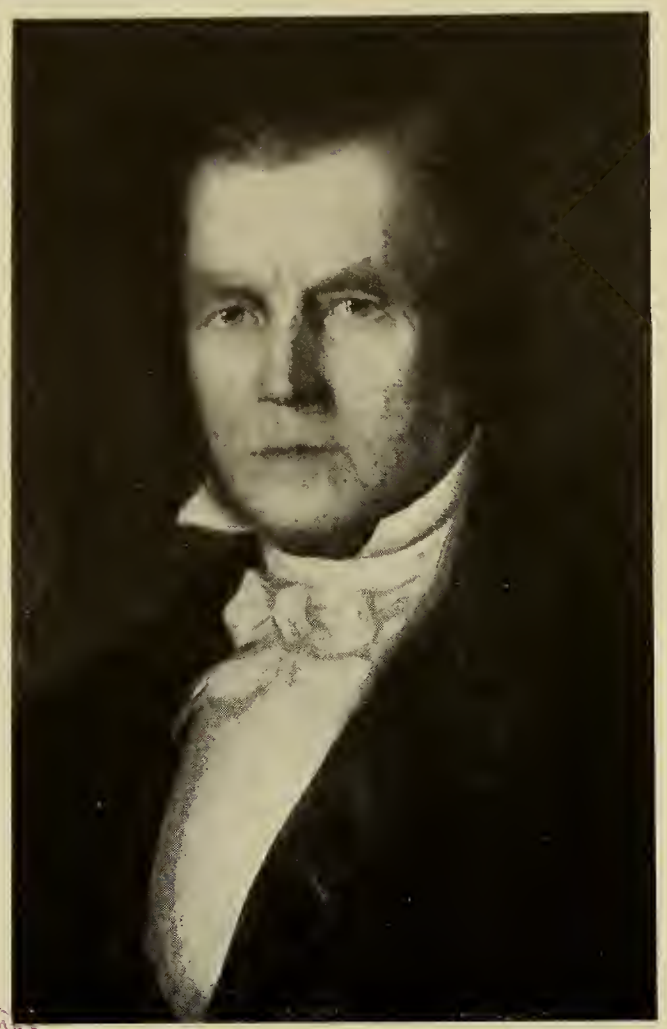
had left a sum of money for the establishment of free or charity schools and, while there no longer is any need for this fund for its original purpose, it has been conserved and free lectures are now given every year from the income of the fund.

During the epidemic of yellow fever in the city in 1793, eighteen persons died of the disease in Letitia court, or in the proportion of one to a house.

Before we leave the neighborhood of Front street it should be recalled that the first attempt to erect an elevated railroad in this city had Front and Market streets for its terminal point. This road, which was called the Northeast Elevated Railroad, secured permission to open Front street between Market and Vine streets in February, 1893, and during that spring the first iron pillars were actually put in place in Front street north of Arch. At that time there were meetings of protest along the proposed line of road, and finally an injunction was obtained that caused work to cease. As a result of the litigation the iron pillars were removed and the first elevated-subway road had to wait fourteen years before it was built and open for traffic. And then it did not connect with the northeast part of the city.

An ordinance of Councils in March, 1887, authorized the Metropolitan Railway Company to construct an underground road from the Delaware County line to the ferries under Market street, with branches under Broad street, to say nothing of numerous other spans. However, nothing more was heard of the project.

There are found in the early directories very few names of residents of Market street between Front and Second beyond those already alluded to that recall any historic memories. In 1795 there were small tradesmen on the south side for the great part. It is true that at what then was number 36 lived Robert S. Stafford, whose sign told passersby that he was a doctor of physic, and at the east corner of Letitia court dwelt Alexander Fullerton, merchant, neither name likely to recall to the average reader any unusual event. If we might be permitted to speculate, it might be suggested that Fullerton was a relative of that unfortunate young man, John Fullerton, who was an actor in the company of the old Chestnut Street Theatre, and who took his life by drowning in the Delaware river in January, 1802. Fullerton was a highly nervous man and only a passably good actor. For some reason that never seems to have been revealed the critics and ruffians went to the theatre and tormented him so that he was on the verge of insanity. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide in his lodgings, he eluded his friends and was found drowned. Mathew Carey was so acutely incensed by the brutal treatment the man had received that he wrote a pamphlet berating Fullerton's enemies and generally asserting that a dramatic critic had no right to be cruel.



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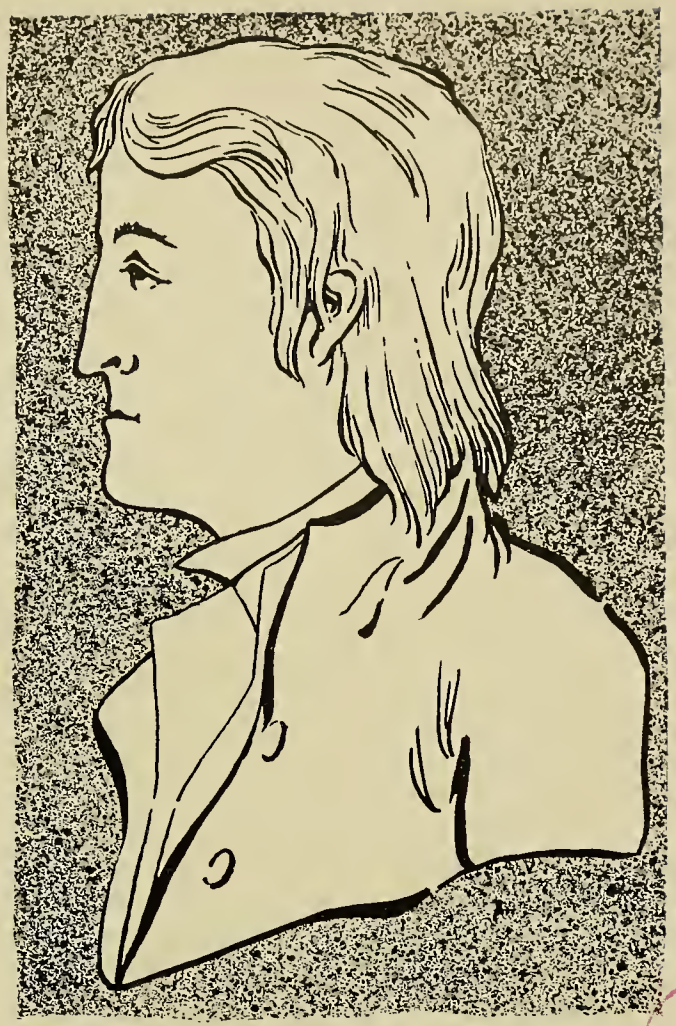
JOHN SPEAKMAN, JR.
Founder of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia



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WILLIAM BALL OF RICHMOND MANOR
He was the first Grandmaster here of the Ancient (York) Masons

On the north side of the street, at what then was No. 41, and is now represented by No. 125, we find that William Ball, described in the directories as gentleman, lived in 1795. Ball was a retired merchant and planter and the owner of Richmond Hall and Balltown, in Port Richmond, which took its name from his manor, and whose site is partly covered by the Cramp shipyard. Ball was distantly related to Washington, the latter's mother having belonged to another branch of the family in England. William Ball was born here in 1729 and died in 1810. He was appointed the first Provincial Grand Master of the Ancient (York) Order of Free Masons in 1791, by the English Grand Master, the Earl of Kellie. Ball in 1795 was again Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and was a large contributor to the erection of the first Mason's lodge or meeting place in Lodge alley. He left no descendants, but the late Sarah P. Ball Dodson, who achieved celebrity for her paintings, was of his family. Her brother, R. Ball Dodson, had been living in Brighton, England, for many years.

In 1791, John Hart, who was one of the pioneers in the drug trade in this city, lived at what then was No. 37, and was on the site of the present 121. Hart was the preceptor of John Speakman, Jr., and had learned the business from the elder Speakman. At No. 25, now 109, in the same year, Joseph Bispham had his hat store. He removed from the city and took his family with him to New Jersey on the outbreak of the yellow fever in 1797, but his son Samuel became one of the foremost wholesale grocers in the city, and during the first half of the last century was one of the city's eminent merchants. He, too, had his stores on Market street, but in his time business had moved toward the westward and he had his places among the most progressive men.

In the same block on Market street in 1795, lived at No. 55, now 139, James Hutton, who probably was a connection of Joseph Hutton, who in turn was an actor, playwright, journalist and school teacher during the first quarter of the last century, and who, according to the memoirs of Ann Carson, was much attached to that notorious woman before her marriage and before her escapades. Hutton was an iron monger and in 1801 his number was 53. At No. 39, at present 123, in the same block, lived Ellis Yarnall, also an iron monger, a family name that is still familiar in this city.

Our arrival at Second street brings us to what as late as the end of the eighteenth century was regarded as the centre of the city. For up to 1837 there stood in the middle of Market street an old building that had been the Town Hall, and the County Court building since early in the eighteenth century. This was the centre of the governmental activities of city and province. Distances from Philadelphia were measured from the Old Court House or Town Hall, and in its immediate vicinity the city's population was densest.

The erection of the Court House at Second and Market streets marked a new epoch for the city. It is true that, so far as is known, there was no ceremony attending the opening of the building, and, as a matter of fact, even the date of its erection is only approximate. It seems certain, however, that the Court House was standing in the year 1709. It became the place for the meeting of the courts, the Provincial Assembly and for the city government. Naturally, it was then the busiest corner in Philadelphia. Gabriel Thomas in 1698 writes that "there is lately built a noble Town House or Guild Hall, also a handsome market house and a convenient prison," but we find the Common Council meeting in an inn in 1704, before which date no journal of that body appears to have survived.

In front of it at the time stood the jail, also in the middle of the street, and before it the pillory and stocks, which at times during the darkness of night were taken off and burned, probably by persons who had had some experience of their tortures. Under the Court House, also, and designated as the east end of that building, butchers had been accustomed to offer their meats, much to the annoyance of the City Council and Aldermen, who ordered in 1711 that no meat should be "sold on the shambles on the east end of the Court House, but at the west only." These stalls were under the Court House itself, as is plainly indicated in the Council minutes for 1722.

In those days the Councils, or, indeed, the City Corporation, had no power to levy taxes, and consequently the Council was always on the alert to pick up trifles here and there, in order to make both ends meet. Thus, the new Court House had scarcely been opened for use when the City Fathers of the time, in May, 1711, ordered that "a shop may be built under the Court House stairs and to be let to the best advantage."

This prison in the middle of the street was found very soon to be even more "convenient" than Gabriel Thomas had believed. It was generally regarded as a nuisance, and in 1700 steps were taken to have it removed, but the removal actually does not seem to have been concluded until about 1723, the year after the new prison, usually called the stone prison, was built at Third and Market streets. In 1713 the Common Council reported the old jail as being notoriously insufficient, that it was a nuisance and prisoners constantly were escaping from it.

As may be seen in old engravings the Court House had two stairways, both uniting in front of the building, facing Second street. Until 1766 all the city elections were held here, and in Dawkins' view and in Dove's caricature, a very good impression of the original appearance of the structure may be had. After the Revolution the stairways, which were on the outside of the building, were removed and an interior stairway erected. That accounts for the absence of this means of access to the upper story in Birch's picture of the building in 1799.

ANCIENT TOWN HALL AND COURT HOUSE, SECOND AND MARKET STREETS

From a painting made about 1829. Outside stairways formerly led to the balcony, The building was removed in 1837.

BOSTON PUBLIC

The minutes of the Common Council do not leave any very clear impression as to the extent and character of the markets in the vicinity of the Court House. It seems that east of the prison, or toward Front street, there were stalls, and after the removal of the old prison in the middle of Market street, stalls were built on its site, although there are references to a new market, and subscriptions for a market house actually were collected in 1710.

In all the pictures of the old Court House there is seen a little balcony projecting from the second story. This was the landing to which the stairways originally led, and when the great preacher Whitefield came here in 1739 there was no building in the city large enough to hold his hearers, and he spoke to the crowd from this balcony of the Court House. While it is true that there was much less noise in the streets in those days that there is now, it seems remarkable that it has been alleged that the sound of the preacher's voice could be heard on the Camden side of the river. That distance at Market street is exactly one mile.

At the Court House, and from the same balcony, in provincial days it was customary to read all proclamations. It was from this place that the citizens of Philadelphia in 1714 heard proclaimed that George I was their new king.

Beneath the Court House auctions were held for many years. In the minutes of the Common Council there are numerous entries of the amounts paid by the tenants. One of these was no less a personage than the Mayor, Thomas Lawrence, who, it appears, was always prompt in settlement. The rent was £25 a year. His predecessor in the lease left without paying all of his rent, and also appears to have continued until the end of his term. At one time a part of the ground floor under the Court House was occupied as the office of a physician, or surgeon, as such was called in the middle of the eighteenth century.

In a painting of the old Court House, executed in 1829, there is pictured a building at the northwest corner of Second and Market streets that is historic. The building was replaced by another in 1831, consequently its appearance is now known generally only through Birch's picture. It was the home of John Speakman, Jr., who kept his drug store there. A few men, who like himself were interested in natural sciences, had been accustomed occasionally to meet and informally discuss the subjects dear to them all. One Saturday evening in January, 1812, a group of these young men, in accordance with a suggestion of Speakman, met in the latter's house, and there formed a society which in March following took its title as the Academy of Natural Sciences. In the little group at the first meeting in Speakman's house were Dr. Gerard Troost, Dr. Camillus Macmahon Mann, who at the time lived at the southwest corner of Eighth and Chestnut streets; Jacob Gilliams,

who dwelt in Arch street with his father, a successful dentist; John Shinn, Jr., and Nicholas S. Parmentier. This meeting was the germ from which sprang the splendid institution known all over the scientific world as the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. It should be noted that the date of the meeting was January 25, 1812. Afterward the group of scientists met at Mercer's cake shop, also on Market street, near Franklin place, and by degrees the Academy increased in number and grew in importance and influence until now probably it is unequaled in certain lines of scientific usefulness.

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CHAPTER IV

SECOND STREET TO THIRD—BRADFORD—FRANKLIN—COBBETT AND THEIR CIRCLES

Market street at Second, where a great deal of history was made during the first century and a half of the city, was the scene of the most serious accident that ever happened to Stephen Girard. In some respects that event, too, was historic.

As probably is generally known, Girard was blind in one eye from his boyhood days, and toward the evening of his life his other eye began to fail him. Simpson, in his life of the financier, mentions Girard feeling his way about his bank on Third street like a man who could not see. This feebleness of sight probably contributed something to the accident, for as the financier was crossing Second street at Market one afternoon in February, 1830, on his way home from his bank, he was knocked down by a dearborn wagon, which is said to have been driven at reckless speed.

Girard was then eighty, his vision was poor and the feebleness of age was creeping over him. Whether he attempted to avoid the wagon is not known, but as he was knocked down, one of the wheels of the vehicle ran over his right cheek, cutting the flesh from the eye to the ear, making a fearful gash, and actually cutting off part of the aged man's right ear.

The financier was a familiar figure to nearly every one in the city in those days, and no sooner had he been knocked down than several persons ran to his assistance. Although suffering great pain, and bleeding from his wound, Girard was on his feet before his would-be rescuers reached his side.

"Stop that fellow!" he cried, pointing to the rapidly disappearing wagon with his cane.

But those who were now at his hand believed it better to care for the injured man. Girard managed to walk home, and Dr. Physic was immediately called in and pronounced the injury serious. Fortunately the cheek-bone had not been fractured, as was feared, but the partly closed eye of the old man was now entirely closed and the sight of his other eye became weaker.

From that time Girard failed perceptibly. When he recovered, he seemed to have felt that the time had arrived for him to make his will, and in June, while he was convalescent, he dictated that famous testa-

ment of his that has survived every judicial ordeal through which it has been compelled to pass.

While we are still at Second street, we should pause before we resume our journey out Market street to give a backward glance at the former dwellers of Second street in this neighborhood.

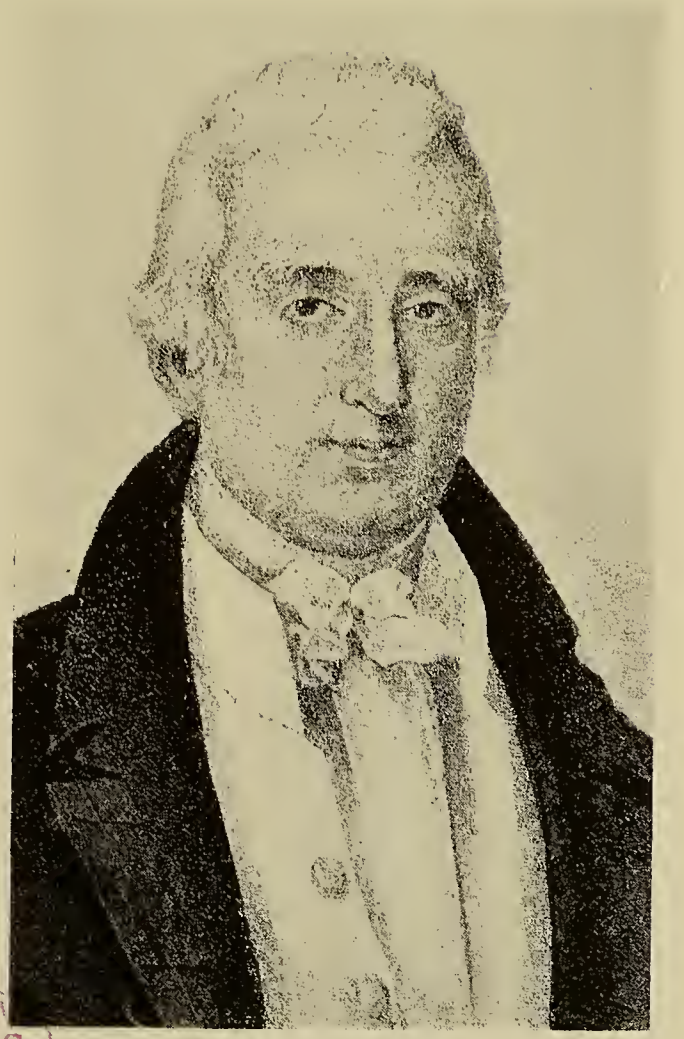
As Second and Market streets, from the earliest times in the city, was the centre of interest and the commercial mart of the Province, it may be accepted that somewhere on Second street, not far from the Court House, William Bradford had his printing office. He published what was regarded in the language of the time, "a seditious paper," in the Keith controversy, and was haled before the court, which dignified body made an ineffectual attempt to examine him and inspect his printing shop. It put him in jail and seized his goods.

But Bradford was the equal of the court. In some manner not yet explained he was released from his confinement, probably because he was the only printer in the Middle Colonies at the time, and his printing press was released, but having received an offer from New York to go to that Province and become its official printer, Bradford decided to leave Pennsylvania and the Society of Friends, and the following year, 1693, set up his press in New York City.

Bradford was apparently succeeded by Reiner Jansen, the younger, a Haarlem printer, but there is a belief that Jansen was merely conducting the business of Bradford in this city, for he was succeeded in time by Bradford's son, Andrew, who, in 1719, published the first newspaper in Pennsylvania.

Andrew Bradford's *Mercury,* which was first issued December 22, 1719, was not only the first newspaper published in Pennsylvania, but the first issued in the Middle Colonies and the second printed in this country. It was intended for sale in both New York and Pennsylvania, and bore the imprint of both the Bradfords, father and son. Andrew Bradford, after attaining his majority and learning the trade with his father in New York, returned to Philadelphia in 1712, and had his printing shop in Second street "at the Sign of the Bible." From the year of his return to 1723 he was the only printer in the Province and naturally was a personage. He became postmaster, and this position helped him materially to distribute his paper, for he was in position to direct the post-riders. It will be recalled that young Franklin appreciated the advantage to a newspaper publisher in those days to have the post-office in his shop and he left no stone unturned until he had taken the postmastership away from Bradford, when, as he took pleasure in relating in his autobiography, he saw that the post-riders distributed his rival's publication as well as his own, although when Bradford was postmaster he forbade his riders carrying Franklin's paper.

Samuel Keimer, who was Franklin's first employer when he came



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WILLIAM COBBETT

As "Peter Porcupine" he kept Philadelphia from stagnation from 1783 to 1800

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HILARY BAKER

Mayor of Philadelphia from 1796 to 1798. he was prominent in public life

to Philadelphia as a lad, also had his printing shop on Second street. Keimer's place was north of Market and close to Christ Church. Franklin worked here on his first visit and on his return from England, and as he, in his usual ready response to opportunity, managed to set up in business as Keimer was failing, it has been supposed that Franklin had his shop on Second street, close to Christ Church. There is a picture showing this shop, but it is not evidence.

There does not appear to be any good reason to believe that Franklin's shop ever was in Second street. His imprints specifically state that his shop was in Market street, but the precise location of his first printing office must be left to conjecture, but certainly it was not far from Second street.

At "25 North Second street, opposite Christ Church," as his address appears on his imprints, was the shop of William Cobbett, who was as widely known under his pen name of "Peter Porcupine" as he was under his own. Cobbett, who had a most eventful history before, during and after his residence in this city, was probably the keenest satirist since Swift, whom, as a writer, he resembled in more than one particular. There never has been any invective so scorching, no satire more keen, and no English more virile than may be found in some of Cobbett's Philadelphia pamphlets. When he wrote he seemed to have invested the language with a new power, and skilful as were some of the attacks made upon him by able pamphleteers, among them Mathew Carey, himself no mean master of telling English, to the end of his Philadelphia career he remained the leader of them all.

The old building in which Cobbett opened his printing shop in 1796 was removed many years ago, but it stood on the site of the building at present No. 25. It was there that Cobbett began to be his own publisher, finding he was being virtually defrauded by the publishers who were printing his pamphlets and books.

Cobbett, who had been in the British army, discovered while in the service that it was a customary thing for the regimental quartermaster to keep about 25 per cent. of the provisions for the men for himself. Cobbett, then soon to be discharged, gathered evidence of the fraud and laid it before the War department when he arrived in England. There he found that instead of laying the subject before the proper officers it was to be smothered, and he was to be sent to Botany bay on a trumped-up charge of sedition. It was then, with still a few guineas in his pocket, that Cobbett decided to cross the Atlantic to the United States. He arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1792, and brought a letter of introduction to Jefferson, then Secretary of State. Jefferson informed him that there were few offices to be distributed among the office seekers, and that none of them was lucrative, anyhow. Thus Cobbett, who had a strong feeling of sympathy with the Americans, and a very high opin-

ion of the character of Washington, failed to become an American citizen.

He taught English to Frenchmen, who were coming here in large numbers, and when Dr. Priestley arrived, an exile from England, Cobbett wrote his first pamphlet, "Observations on the Emigration of a Martyr," in which Priestley and his doctrines were attacked with a vigor that must have astonished the doctor.

In a letter he afterward wrote to William Pitt, Cobbett declared that between the summer of 1794 and 1800, he wrote twenty pamphlets that had a combined circulation of half a million copies. During the first three years he was in this city Cobbett wrote for publishers, but in 1796 he determined to become his own publisher. He took the house at 25 North Second street, paid a year's rent in advance, set up a press and began to berate his enemies. One of the first pamphlets from his press was "The Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine," etc., "By Peter Porcupine Himself." The title contains a quotation from Shakespeare: "Now, you lying varlets, you shall see how a plain tale will put you down."

Cobbett had been hounded by Bache, of the *Aurora,* and had on one occasion knocked him down during a passage in the Cross Keys tavern. His experience in this city convinced him that republican institutions, as he then observed them, were not to be preferred to a monarchy such as England was. Cobbett, who attacked the enemies of Washington, was generally believed to be in the Federal party's pay, but this probably was a mere surmise. In order to shock the people he hung up in his window in Second street all the portraits of kings, queens and princes he had in his possession. He arranged his window before he took the shutters down, and in his own words Philadelphia was properly shocked at his daring to exhibit hated aristocratical portraits.

> "Early on the Monday morning," he said, describing his opening, "I took down my shutters. Such a sight had not been seen in Philadelphia for twenty years. Never since the beginning of the Rebellion had any one dared to hoist at his window the portrait of George III.
>
> "In order to make the test as perfect as possible, I had put up some of the worthies of the Revolution, and had found out fit companions for them. I coupled Franklin and Marat together, and in another place McKean and Ankerstrom."

The following year Cobbett began the publication of a weekly newspaper, which he called *Porcupine's Gazette.* This was strongly Federal in character and never had a good word for Republicans. In spite of his attitude the *Gazette* had the largest circulation of any newspaper published in this city. His attacks on Bache, who was a grandson of Franklin, led to the circulation of the *Aurora* falling off and of many advertisers withdrawing their advertisements. Bache had attacked Washington, and from his press came those scandalous forged letters

that were intended to cast aspersion on the good character of the Father of His Country. But they were met boldly by Cobbett, and not only were the letters destined to lose their intended influence, but Bache, as well, suffered from the attacks of Peter Porcupine.

The yellow fever of 1797, which was almost as violent as the visitation in 1793, found Dr. Rush bleeding patients as a curative. Thousands died, and Cobbett led the attack on Rush's treatment.

Rush brought suit, but the case did not come up for two years, and when it did, Cobbett's enemies were found on the bench. As was to be expected, a verdict was brought in giving Rush damages in $5000. It was intended to shut up Cobbett forever. But his friends subscribed the amount and paid it, and Peter Porcupine remained in the city. Cobbett had always declared that if his greatest enemy, Judge McKean, who was one of his trial Judges, ever was elected Governor of the state he would leave it. McKean not long after the trial was elected to that high office, and Cobbett was as good as his word. He sold out his bookshop and removing to New York began the publication of a series of pamphlets devoted to attacks upon Dr. Rush. This magazine he playfully entitled *The Rushlight,* but New York did not understand Cobbett, and being so far away from the friends he had made in Philadelphia he determined to return to England, which he did.

Somewhere in Second street, not far from Market, but now impossible of identification, Henry Miller had his printing shop before the Revolution. Miller, who was a native of Waldeck, came to this city about 1741 and entered Franklin's printing office on Market street as a journeyman. After staying there a year he returned to Europe, and after many wanderings came back here again in 1751, this time entering the employ of William Bradford. Three years later he went back to Europe, but was here again in 1760. This time he was in business on Second street, publishing German books and German almanacs. But in 1765 he published the "Juvenile Poems of Thomas Godfrey," and if he did nothing else he becomes a historic character, for in this volume is to be found a tragedy by Godfrey, the first tragedy written, published and acted in America, entitled, "The Prince of Parthia." Godfrey was a son of that other Thomas Godfrey, the companion of Franklin, one of the original Junto, and the inventor of a quadrant, which invention it long was believed had been credited to Hadley. Miller remained here until his death in 1782, when he was eighty years old. In 1762 he began the publication of a German newspaper, entitled *Der Wochentliche Philadelphia Staatsbote,* which was only discontinued when the British entered the city. It was revived for a year after the evacuation by the King's troops, but in 1779 Miller published his farewell address and discontinued his journal.

Christ Church, which for almost two centuries has been a conspicu-

ous object in Second street, north of Market, need not detain us, for its history is so extensive and so important that we shall not have time to review it beyond recalling those few facts in its career that are already widely known. The present building, which was designed by Dr. John Kinnersley, who left part of his fortune to establish Christ Church Hospital, was erected some time between the years 1727 and 1731. It is recognized by architects as one of the finest examples of Colonial church architecture to be found in America today. The first church which stood on this plot, a wooden structure, was erected in 1695 and was twice enlarged, making it virtually a new building. The last enlargement of the old building was made in 1720.

The present building was altered in 1834 by the architect, Thomas U. Walter, who designed the dome of the Capitol at Washington, and was the architect of Girard College. A few years ago, in order to protect the sacred spot from ravages of fire, Church street was widened, and the structure which adjoined the church on the north was removed. An alley along the west side of the building also was provided, and now the church is perfectly isolated. Yet a few years ago, in 1909, lightning struck the steeple and fired it. The upper part of the steeple was destroyed, but has been restored to its original condition.

Somewhere in this block was Andrew Steuart, a Scotch-Irishman, who with Armbruster printed the majority of the political pamphlets issued here in the days before the Revolution. Steuart, when he first came here from Ireland in 1758, opened a little printing establishment in Letitia street. When he moved to Second street, north of Market, he hung out as his sign a Bible in a heart. His press was rather busy during the pamphlet war at the time of the Paxton boys' trouble in 1764, and these prints are now esteemed for their rarity.

In 1788 there was another Stewart, as he spelled his name, also on Second street. Peter Stewart's place was, as his imprint was careful to note, on the west side, ninth door above Chestnut Street. In the year mentioned Stewart published "The Proverbs of Solomon and Ecclesiastes" for "the education of youth." In this now rare volume the translator, in order not to corrupt the morals of the youth, whom he desired to instruct, found some words and passages too burning for paper, and had the printer indicate their position with the usual asterisks, which gave the book the appearance of containing only the ashes of passionate sentences.

There is a fascination about old Second street in this locality that temps one to linger in the neighborhood, but we must continue our frequently interrupted journey out Market street.

At the southwest corner of Second and Market streets there stood until 1810 the meeting house of the Society of Friends. This building occupied the lot that Penn's Governor, Markham, gave to the Friends,

although the Founder had reserved it for his daughter Letitia. The old building was erected on the lot in 1712, and consequently occupied the site for almost a century. The Arch Street Meeting House was erected in 1804 and to the new building the Friends moved soon afterward. It will recur to all who have read Franklin's "Autobiography" that the tired young printer after his arrival at Market street wharf one Sunday morning in the year 1723, wandered into the meeting and finding the congregation silent, soon fell asleep on one of the benches.

A few doors westward of the Friends' Meeting, on the same side of Market street, stood, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Royal Standard tavern. In 1749 a lodge of Free Masons was accustomed to meet there, but earlier, in 1735, a lodge met at the Indian King, nearer Third street, also on the same side of the street. While the exact location of the Royal Standard cannot be determined, there were taverns later in the century at what is now No. 214, the east corner of Strawberry street, and at No. 220, three doors west of Strawberry. It seems probable that one of these was the Royal Standard, but it was customary to change the names of inns, and, of course, after the Revolution, or, indeed, after 1776, no Royal Standard tavern would be likely to advertise that sign.

The Indian King, however, retained its sign until the end of the eighteenth century and was a noted inn. It stood on the west corner of what is now Bodine street, at No. 240, although the original building has long since been replaced. John Biddle seems to have been either the original proprietor or one who had the place for many years, for the alley next the house was known as Biddle's alley until the beginning of the last century. This narrow passageway runs south to Elbow lane.

On the north side of Market street, between Second and Third, there still exists a narrow alley, once known as Grindstone alley, which connects Church street with Market. It appears never to have been the residence of anybody, but in the directory for 1795 we learn: "No persons living here but John Foulke, Doctor of Physic."

At what would be the present No. 207 John Fenno, who was for a few years an esteemed newspaper publisher, editor and printer, had his place in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Fenno had established his *Gazette of the United States* in New York when the seat of Government was there in 1789. When the capital of the nation was removed to this city Fenno and his *Gazette* came, too. He insisted that his paper was independent of party, but it soon became evident, especially when the French enthusiasm began to run riot in Philadelphia, that the *Gazette* was intensely Federal. The *Gazette* supported Adams unreservedly and attacked the so-called "French faction." The first issue of the *Gazette* in Philadelphia bears the date April 14, 1790. Three years later Fenno issued an evening edition of his paper.

during the period of the yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793, for there, safe from infection, President Washington dwelt. Deshler was famed in his time for his splendid attire. He favored olive-colored silk velvet and bright silver buckles, and astonished the plain trustees of the old Academy in Germantown when he attended his first meeting as one of their number by reason of his full dress "regalia."

Next door to Deshler on Market street in 1767 lived Peletiah Webster, who had just retired from the Union School (Academy) in Germantown as English master and was then in trade.

Opposite to Deshler's house on Market street, on the site of No. 238, in 1795, lived Hilary Baker, who was a son of Hilarius Becker, the first German master of the Germantown Union School. Baker anglicized his name and became a prominent man in public affairs here, serving as Mayor of the city during 1796 to 1798.

CHAPTER V

SECOND STREET TO THIRD, CONTINUED—STRAWBERRY STREET'S INHABITANTS—SAMUEL ARCHER

Our interest in the square on Market street, between Second and Third streets, includes more than could well be reviewed in the last chapter. For more than a century on the south side of the street, at the east corner of Bank street, which was called White Horse alley early in the last century, and earlier formed a part of Elbow lane, there stood the First Presbyterian Church, which numbered among its congregation many men of influence and prominence in the Province and State.

Very few years after the city was settled it became evident that Quakers did not by any means compose the entire population. But for some time there were no places for worship other than the meeting houses of the Society of Friends. The appearance of Francis Makemie, a Presbyterian, who came to the city about 1692, just at the time that George Keith's heresy was scandalizing the Friends, brought together Presbyterians in the city, and they organized a church. They formed an amicable understanding with such Baptists as were in the city, and together they worshipped in a storehouse belonging to the Barbadoes Company. This building was situated at the northwest corner of Second and Chestnut streets, and the only available minister was a Baptist clergyman, the Rev. John Watts, whose charge was at Pennepeck.

For several years this union service was conducted in the old storehouse, and then the Presbyterians decided to call a minister of their own. They thereupon invited from Massachusetts the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, who became their minister in 1698. Mr. Andrews took charge of the little congregation, but the latter was ambitious, and having a minister of their own, they naturally desired a place of worship that would be theirs, too. Consequently, in 1704 or 1705, they purchased property at what is now the southeast corner of Bank and Market streets, and erected the first Presbyterian church in Philadelphia.

This building, which probably was partly, at least, constructed of wood, was surrounded by a row of sycamore trees, and in consequence of this fine natural setting the church became known as the Buttonwood church. Peter Kalm, when he visited the city in 1748, saw the church and described it as being near the market—the sheds at the time did not extend up to Third street—and as having a roof that was hemispherical or hexagonal. He also spoke of it as being of middling size.

AUCTION
BUNTING & TURNER SALE ROOMS

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SECOND EDIFICE OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

This was on the south side of Market street between Second and Third. Here Franklin started his reforms in street cleaning and paving.

Mr. Andrews remained the minister of the church until his death in 1747, and after several others had been installed as pastor the Rev. Dr. John Ewing, who was destined to play an important part in the church life and the educational affairs of the city, became minister in 1759. At the time Dr. Ewing was elected minister he was professor of philosophy in the College of Philadelphia, and he remained pastor of the church until he died in 1802. When the University of Pennsylvania took over the rights of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, Dr. Ewing was elected the first provost.

In 1793 it was decided that the old church was entirely too small for the congregation, although this had been divided at times between the Second and Third churches, which were offshoots of the First church. Thereupon a design for the new edifice was drawn and the style, which was of the classic order, is said to have been the first time a Greek model had served for a structure in Philadelphia. It had a row of Corinthian columns on the front, and these supported a pedment. The building was completed in 1794, and the Directory of the following year describes the structure as being 88 feet long, 56 feet broad and 40 feet high. "It has no gallery; 96 pews on the first floor which will hold six persons each. The cellar rents for $200 per annum," is the remainder of the data given in Hogan's Directory for 1795.

There are at least two pictures showing this edifice. One of them was engraved by William Birch for his "Views of Philadelphia" in 1800, but it does not give an adequate idea of the building. Another, engraved at a later date, shows the building in all its classic detail. The new structure did not suffice for many years. The location opposite the market shed, the movement westward of the population and other causes combined to make the congregation desire a change. In 1822 they built and occupied the present building at the southeast corner of Washington square and Seventh street, and the Market street building was then removed.

Bank street was not cut through to Chestnut until about a century ago. Originally it bore the name Elbow lane, and when it is understood that the street entered the block from Market street, and then by a right angle made its exit into Third street, the origin of the designation becomes intelligible. The old name still clings to that part of the narrow thoroughfare that enters the block from Third street. It was a fairly populous street for its size at the end of the eighteenth century.

Some time after the middle of that century the Market street end of the narrow thoroughfare was known as White Horse alley, and this was its name until it finally received its present one. There were two inns in this short alley in 1795. These were kept by Nathaniel Davis, at No. 2, and by John Lauch, further back from Market street in a house which bore no number. These probably displayed the signs of the

Boar's Head and Blue Ball, which were there in 1785. In 1801 there was an inn at No. 11, but which of these was the original White Horse cannot be determined now. William Bomberger, a joiner, John Stowers, a constable, and Thomas Patton, gentleman, were among the residents there in 1795. In 1801 Thomas Rogers, who is described as merchant, had his house at No. 8.

In this block between Second and Third streets Benjamin Davies, bookseller, had his shop in 1795, at what is now 224, but his shop was vacant in 1801.

At the southeast corner of Third and Market streets in 1767 Robert Bass had his drug store. He is described in his advertisements as apothecary and chemist, and his place of business as "opposite the prison." Nothing remains of Bass' establishment, for in 1794 this old corner was improved in a manner that caused it to be the admiration and pride of Philadelphians. The old building was razed, and in its stead there was erected what has been described as the finest business block "on the globe." We need not be in ignorance of its appearance, for William Birch made a plate of it for his "Views of Philadelphia," in 1799. There is another view of the building made for Porter's "Picture of Philadelphia," in 1831, when it was regarded as an admirable ruin.

Joseph Cooke, who erected a splendid four-story block in 1794, was a jeweler. He conceived a wonderful building improvement, and expected that all Philadelphia would be attracted to his shop by the magnetism of its magnificence, as that term was then understood. So he erected a block containing three stores and dwellings, and all improvements and conveniences then known to building were incorporated. The buildings had two cellars. In the subcellars, according to the description in Porter's book, "were the kitchens finished with pumps, sinks and every convenience; the upper cellars being intended to be used as sitting rooms."

The block, in addition to being "finished in the best manner," was highly ornate, with wood carvings, very probably the handiwork of William Rush. When the buildings were completed, to quote Porter again, "the stores were first occupied by jewelers, and when first opened presented a scene of magnificence not surpassed by any place of business on the globe at that day. The carved work and images on the building are now in a rapid state of dilapidation," and he notes that it was the intention of the lessees of the block to remove them. This was done long ago, and there is little left to suggest the finest business block on the globe.

In 1831 the place was an umbrella manufactory. Porter states that it had then been occupied for the manufacture of umbrellas for ten years. At that time, he states it "generally employed 40 men and boys

COOKE'S BUSINESS BLOCK, SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THIRD AND MARKET STS.

OSTON
BLIC

Proudly proclaimed as the finest in the world when it was erected in 1794. This highly ornamental structure fell into evil days within a few years.

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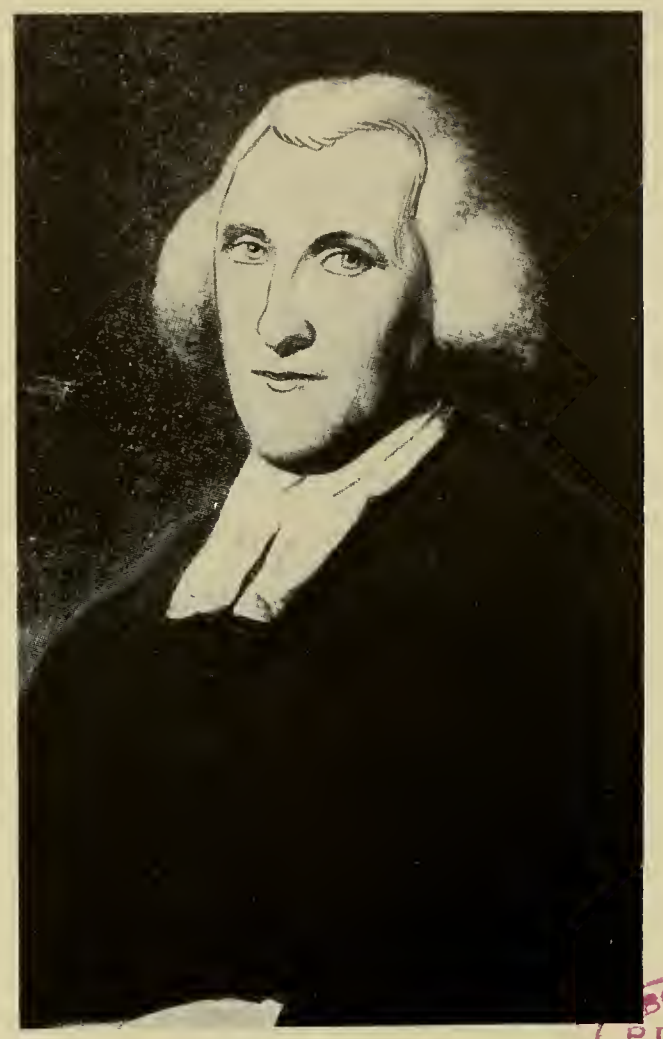
SAMUEL ARCHER
One of Market street's great progressive merchants in the last century



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REV. DR. JOHN EWING
Pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church and Provost of the University

and 60 women, and has often turned out 400 or 500 umbrellas per day, but since the augmentation of the duty on Canton silks, 36 per cent., which is now the virtual duty on raw material of the umbrella maker, a large part of the export trade has been lost and the manufacturer is obliged to depend solely on the home trade."

In the days when the corner was an umbrella factory, it appears from a statement made by Porter, it must have been the lounging place of Cupid, for he notes that of the women employed there, "59 have been married from this establishment, most of whom are now pleasantly situated, their husbands being substantial tradesmen."

Before we leave the square between Second and Third streets we should not forget that one of the most enterprising and extraordinary merchants and importers known to Philadelphians in the early years of the last century has his abode on the north side near Third on the site of 249. This was Samuel Archer, a native of Burlington County, New Jersey, who came here about the year 1800 and engaged in the retail dry goods trade. At that time he was a man of about thirty-seven years. Full of energy, he soon set a pace for his fellow merchants in the city. His rise to wealth and distinction here was wonderful. Within a dozen years after his advent in the city he was one of the largest importers and shipping merchants in Philadelphia. He was senior member of the firm of Samuel Archer & Co., and later of Archer & Bispham. In the days before the War of 1812 his house was doing a business of more than $2,000,000 a year, which was remarkable for his time, and probably was unequaled by any other merchant then in Philadelphia.

He was one of the largest importers of muslins and other fabrics from India, for in those days none of these goods were made here, and he also was an extensive importer of China goods, which had great vogue. It is said that the net profits of the house one year were $120,000 and for another year $180,000, figures that called for astonishment from all who heard the statements.

But the War of 1812 put a stop to the imports, and although Archer is said to have made several fortunes with apparent ease, he lost them just as easily through his generosity to others. He joined another merchant, Robert Ralston, in giving the ground for the Orphan Asylum which was built at Eighteenth and Cherry streets, where the Medico-Chirurgical College stood until removed for the construction of the Parkway. Archer died in 1839, in his sixty-eighth year. His life was one of the romances of trade in early Philadelphia, in the days when this port was known around the world.

While we are in this vicinity we might turn into Strawberry street for a few minutes.

Strawberry street, which opens into Market street between the

present numbers 214 and 216, was from early in the eighteenth century a place of residence that seems to have been rather popular and to have been also a busy thoroughfare. It had until comparatively recent years two or three taverns in it. In the early days all of these displayed signs.

Thus in 1768 we find the Queen Charlotte Inn being kept there by Peter Sutter. It is not possible to locate this inn now, but it probably was at either Nos. 8 or 14 or 22. Of these only the last-named structure stands. All of these buildings were inns in 1795 and in 1801. At No. 8 in 1795 John Cormick kept a tavern and in 1801 this was in the possession of Thomas Calvert. At No. 14 in 1795 John Ryan was the innkeeper, and he had been succeeded by John Wright in 1801. Joseph Douglass had an inn at No. 22 in 1795, but this was the shop of a tailor, John Bonsall, in 1801.

Some idea of the respectability of the street in the early days may be had from the fact that in addition to some small tradesmen there were a few persons who were set down as "gentlemen" occupying houses in the street. Christopher Marshall, Jr., lived for many years at No. 24, which building still stands, and it is possible that his father, the diarist, who has left us one of the three contemporary accounts of the first reading of the Declaration of Independence in the State House Yard, lived there also.

The younger Marshall, who is described as apothecary in the directory for 1795, had retired by 1801, for then he is dwelling in Strawberry street as "gentleman." Marshall's house and the house on the north side still stands. In one next to it at the south, No. 26, the Philadelphia Dispensary had its first home in 1786. This building was removed about eight years ago.

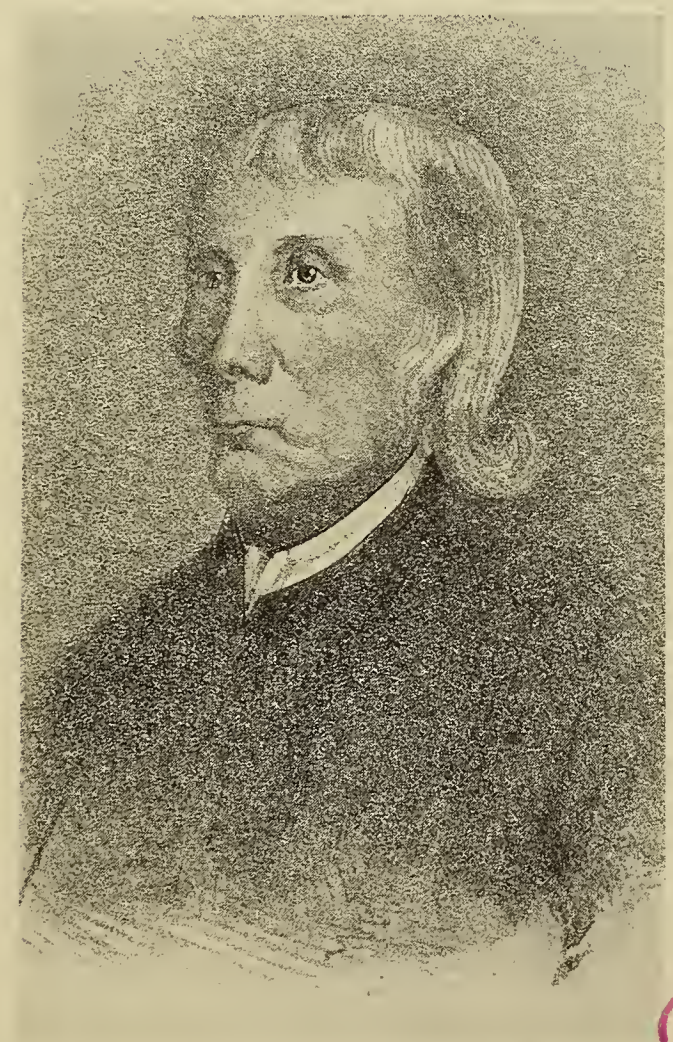
The dispensary, one of the first in this country, was organized in the spring of the year 1786, and in March a committee obtained from Christopher Marshall, Jr., the lease of a building which he owned in Strawberry street. This dispensary was opened on April 12, 1786, and in response to an advertisement in the newspapers soon became known to the poor.

One of the first advertisements of the institution, which still survives in its sturdy old age on Fifth street north of Walnut, was to this effect:

> The dispensary will be opened in Strawberry alley on Wednesday, April 12th. Those among the poor who wish to have their children inoculated for the small pox under the care of the dispensary are desired to make speedy application to some one of the contributors.

The first eight months the dispensary was in operation its patients numbered 719. Of these, 562 were discharged as cured, 32 died, 7 were discharged as disorderly, 1 as incurable and 82 were under care when the first report was made in December, 1786. The house was

AN EARLY AMBITIOUS SUGGESTION FOR A MARKET STREET ELEVATED RAILWAY



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CHRISTOPHER MARSHALL

Whose diary records the first public reading of the Declaration of Independence

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

INTERIOR OF THE MARKET HOUSE IN MARKET STREET, 1800

rented for £40 a year, but as larger apartments were needed the following year this points to the dispensary having been located in a small building and in turn this leads to the presumption that the first dispensary was housed in a building at 26 Strawberry street. In August, 1787, the institution was removed to a house owned by John Guest, on Chestnut street.

In Strawberry street, in 1767, there dwelt James Smither, who was one of the earliest engravers to be in business in America. Smither is said to have been formerly an engraver who ornamented guns in London, but here he did a general engraving business. An advertisement of his in 1768 when he was working at times for Bell, the printer, states that he makes metal cuts for printers, engraves seals and makes tools for bookbinders, meaning their ornamental tools.

Not a great deal is known of Smither, but when he first arrived here, evidently in 1767, he announced himself as engraver and as having a drawing school "at the Golden Head, in Strawberry Alley." The sign evidently was his own distinguishing mark, as there does not appear to have been a tavern with that sign in Strawberry street. The following year he had his place "at the first house in Third street from the Cross Keys, corner of Chestnut." And that means that his shop was next to the corner of Third and Chestnut streets, and south of the latter thoroughfare. Smither was an excellent engraver, but he never forgot his royalist proclivities. He left the city when the British did, but returned in 1786. He is said to have died in 1800, but having had a son of the same there is some confusion in following his career.

Early in the eighteenth century, before 1750, Elizabeth Walton kept an inn at the sign of the Mariner's Compass and Four Horseshoes, in Strawberry alley. In this half century also there was the Brig and Snow Inn there, and in 1785 there were the signs of the White Horse and the Horse and Groom. It is possible that some rear entrance to the White Horse was responsible for the later name or part of Elbow lane.

In the first half of the last century there was a Bull's Head in Strawberry street, kept by John Evans, and its sign was said to have been painted by Benjamin West. On what authority this statement was made by Hazard is not known, neither is it to be explained by any other reasoning than that the sign had done duty at another Bull's Head, and had been painted while West was a mere lad here. It is known, of course, that West did some painting here before he went to London to study, and if he painted this inn signboard it must have been the work of his earliest period.

It was not until the year 1759 that the market sheds in the middle of Market street were extended as far westward as Third. For many years previously there were sheds west of the Court House, but these

only continued about half way up the square. Of course, there were stalls of the "Jersey market," as they were called, below Second. It is probable that the sheds would have been extended sooner than they were had it not been that the residents in the southern part of the city began to complain that the distance to the market was too great, and that they did not like the idea of being compelled to cross Dock creek, which occupied the line of the present Dock street.

But the New Market, as it was called, was arranged for and the first section, that south from Pine street in the middle of Second, was built in 1745. This satisfied a demand in that section of the town, and left the extension on Market street for a later day.

Although this extension was built in 1759, we find the Assembly petitioned in 1773 for a further extension westward. The City Council, having the plan for the proposed market before them for a shed to extend from Third street to Fourth in the middle of Market street, were in perfect agreement. But the very day the plan was being discussed before the city fathers the latter received a petition reciting a grievance against the proposed structure. This remonstrance was signed by virtually every resident in Market street between the streets named, and it is interesting at this time to learn that the complaint rested upon the encumbrance such a structure would add to the already busy street.

There were some real progressive residents in those days, and when they learned the attitude of Council, they set about rectifying the error in their own way. They requested the Council to be party in an amicable suit at law to determine the legal right of the city fathers to obstruct the street, saying that they had consulted counsel and had been assured that the Mayor and Corporation had no legal right to erect stalls.

Council, even in those days, felt its own importance, and did not fancy having property holders and residents objecting to that august body when it was going to present the town with an improvement. The Council simply ignored both the request and the petition, and gave orders to have the new market sheds or stalls built. Then began the battle of the market shed. Material was brought to the street and workmen began to arrive ready to erect the structure. At the same time some of the residents of the street hired wagons and hauled away the stones intended for the pillars, and removed the lime and sand. Mayor William Fisher looked on at the proceeding in angry astonishment. A few of the Aldermen viewed this ruthless rejection of their authority with ill temper, and gave orders to those who were interfering to stop. But the residents were determined and had their men continue to remove all material brought there and deposited on a vacant lot in the neighborhood.

This acute state of affairs continued for almost a week, during which time a rough wooden shed or house erected to store lime was demolished and also deposited on the vacant lot. At the end of the week's struggle, which was entirely peaceful, as no blows were struck on either side, the Council began to see a light and gave orders that the work should be stopped and no market erected for the time being. The advent of the Revolution two years later kept all Philadelphians rather busy, and it was not until 1786 that the sheds were finally continued westward to Fourth street.

It was in this neighborhood that the annual spring and autumn fairs were held in the city. These annual events, which brought mountebanks, peddlars and wanderers from all parts of the country, attracted large crowds. Virtually every kind of trifling thing was sold at these fairs. Even books formed part of the stock, for books could not be purchased as easily in the early years of the eighteenth century as they could later. For many years before the fairs were finally abolished they were recognized as a public nuisance, but tradition and sentiment permitted their return yearly long after their real usefulness had passed. Gabriel Thomas, in 1698, asserts that there were three fairs a year held, but Watson speaks of only two fairs, one in May and one in November of each year, each of which lasted for three days. An act of Assembly in 1787 finally abolished them.

CHAPTER VI

FROM THIRD STREET TO FOURTH—FIRST STREET RAILWAY—BIDDLES, WISTARS, AND COL. THOMAS FORREST.

It is a little difficult to conceive that when Franklin first came to Philadelphia the square on Market street from Third to Fourth street should be regarded as the "upper end of High street." Yet it was the western edge of the city in 1723, and Watson has sagely suggested that it probably was because the paving stopped at Fourth street that the young printer walking westward and munching his "great puffy rolls," did not proceed further westward in his first walk around the city.

In those days, according to another note to be found in Watson, it seems that the woods, which covered the greater part of the city, extended nearly down to that point. In the middle of the eighteenth century the eastern border of these woods is said to have been Eighth street at Market. It was not until after 1800 that the market sheds in the middle of Market street were continued westward from Fourth street to Sixth.

It is very evident that Philadelphia in its early years grew faster than that of any other city in this country. It also is evident that even the wisdom of the men in command of the municipal government did not expect a growth so extraordinary. Whenever they built a new structure it was usually only a few hundred feet westward. Andrew Hamilton, who seems to have been one of the most sagacious men of his time here, actually made the city gasp when he decided the State House should be located between Fifth and Sixth streets. That was in 1732, and his critics were only pacified by the statement that in that location it would be far out of town and the lawmakers would have quiet while deliberating.

So with such views as these there is little to wonder at in the action of the City Fathers in removing the city prison at Second and Market streets, because it had become a nuisance, and then erecting a new and more substantial jail just another square westward. The stone prison, as it was called, was erected at the southwest corner of Third and Market streets in 1722. One building in the group was designated the Debtors' Prison, and in 1737, and for years after, the prison keeper was William Biddle, whose family has become distinguished in each succeeding generation as wariors, lawyers or judges.

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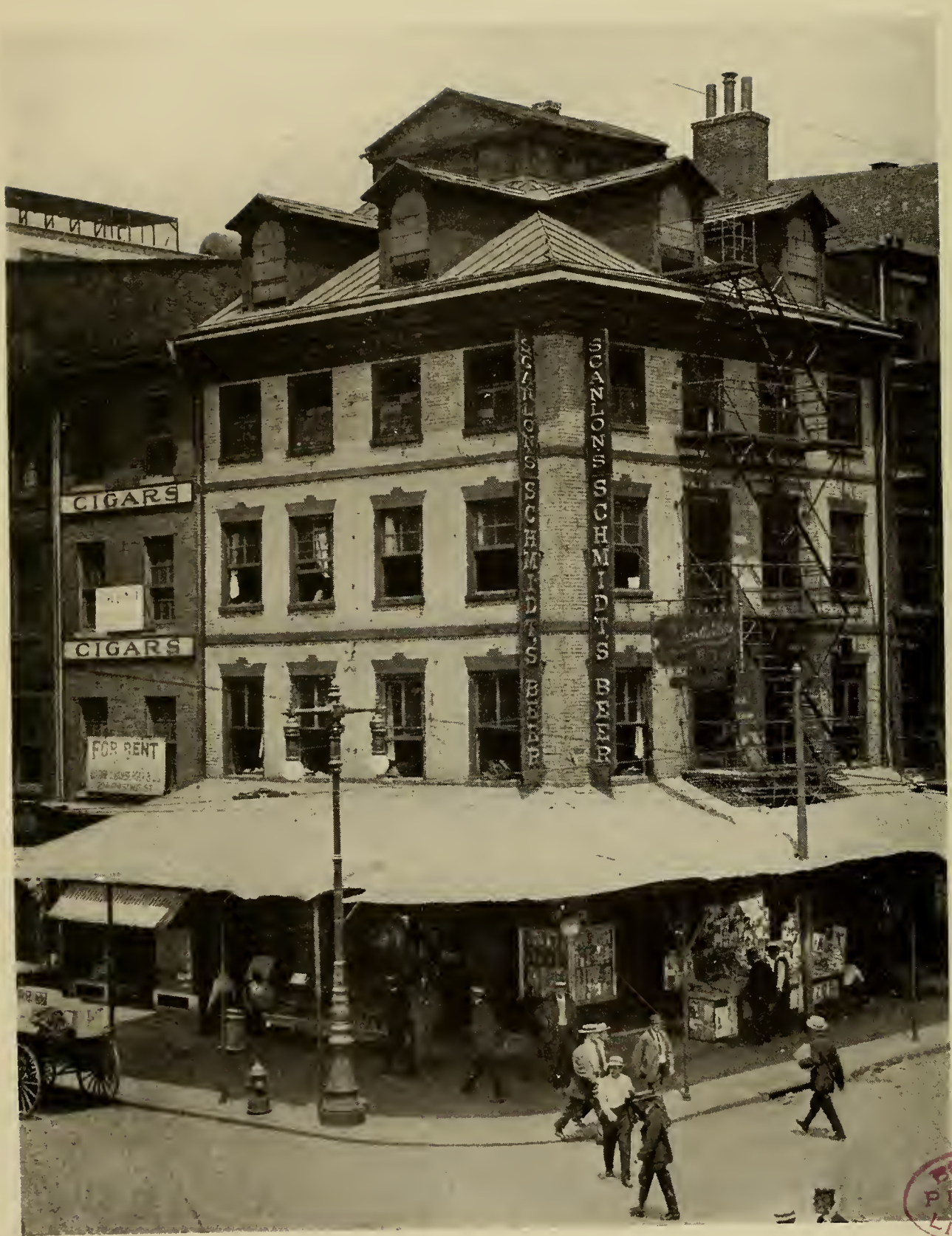

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HOUSE ERECTED BY RICHARD WISTAR IN 1795

Still standing at the northeast corner of Third and Market streets. When it was built it was the highest private dwelling in the city.

We must look to Watson for a description of this structure, but it would be wise not to put too much faith in the illustration which the annalist gives of the prison, for it was drawn from description, and Mr. Watson was not more than five years of age when the building was removed. Moreover, as he was born and passed his early years in New Jersey, it was not until after the Revolution that he was brought as a child to this city. Nearly all of the pictures in his valuable "Annals" were drawn by an English artist, William L. Breton, who attempted to realize pictorially such descriptions as Mr. Watson could give him. They are the best pictures we have of many an historic structure, but it should be borne in mind that they are liable to err in details.

From the annalist we learn that the stone prison

> Consisted of a two-story stone building fronting on High street for the debtors' jail, and another two-story similar building, fronting on Third street, for the criminals, called the workhouse—the latter some distance from the former, but joined to it by a high wall, forming a part of the yard enclosure. The buildings were of hewn stone; half of the cellar story was above ground, the roofs were sharp pitched and the garrets furnished rooms for prisoners.

About the time the Revolution was beginning a new jail was erected at the southeast corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. During that conflict the new jail was used for prisoners of war both by the British and by the American army, as each held control of the city, consequently it was not until the war for independence was concluded that the prisoners were removed from Third and Market streets to the new jail. This was accomplished in 1784, and the old structure soon gave way to modern buildings for dwellings and stores.

Next to the northeast corner of Third street, John Bartram, a younger son of the famous botanist, had his drug store in 1785. His brother Isaac had a drug store on Arch street. John Bartram was a son of the elder John Bartram, by the latter's second wife, who was Ann Mendenhall. He was born in 1743.

There still stands at the northwest corner of these streets the four-story building erected by Richard Wistar in 1795. Like the structure at the southwest corner, it is one of the few ancient buildings still standing on Market street. Richard Wistar was a son of Caspar Wistar and brother to Dr. Caspar Wistar, who probably is better recalled by Philadelphians of the present day as the originator of Wistar Parties than he is known as a physician and anatomist.

Richard Wistar, who had been brought up in the tenets of the Society of Friends, very early started to do things that caused him to be read out of meeting in effect, if not in fact. He sided with the patriots in the Revolution, and he married Sarah Morris, a daughter of Captain Samuel Morris of the City Troop, who, although a Quaker, fought with his command throughout the Revolutionary War. Wistar

was born in 1756 and early applied himself with considerable industry to trade. He was an iron monger and hardware dealer, and at the time he erected the building at Third and Market streets the firm name was Wistar & Konigmacher. They did a wholesale and retail business, and, like other members of his family, Richard Wistar became wealthy and influential. He took a deep interest in the Philadelphia Library, in the Pennsylvania Hospital, and in penology here, being for a time one of the prison inspectors.

In those days Richard Wistar had a country place in the neighborhood of Fifteenth and Spring Garden streets. He called it Hillspach. His ground seems to have been rather irregular, and to have extended to Green street in one direction, to Broad street in another, and he had been heard to remark in his old days that while his building was being erected at Third and Market streets he could see the workmen on his building from his country place, which indicates how sparsely built the city was in 1795. He attained a reputation for punctuality, and is said to have in his own life lived the maxims and proverbs made familiar by Poor Richard, whose creator he is said to have resembled in some of his views and activities.

In this building in 1814, when Dr. Michael Leib was postmaster, the Philadelphia Post-Office was located.

The great rambling structure at the southwest corner of Third and Market streets was erected after the prison was removed, and in 1791 was the home of John Fries, a successful merchant. That the building has been altered since it was originally erected is proven by the part of it which is shown in Birch's view of Third and Market streets in 1799. The structure now is four and a half stories instead of three and a half, as shown in Birch's view, and, especially on the Third street side, seems to have been enlarged and generally changed. Fries seems to have been the original occupant, and remained here until 1813, when he removed to Arch street between Fourth and Fifth. His address at Third and Market after 1801 was change to 2 South Third street instead of 90 High street, although it was the same building.

Third and Market streets was the eastern limit of the first railroad tracks laid on Market street. Even for several years after the West Philadelphia Passenger Railway occupied the street its eastern terminus was at Third street, and it was the presence of the railroad tracks which finally caused Councils to reach the conclusion that the market sheds must go. When the project of running street cars first was discussed the people were strongly in favor of having the tracks laid on other streets and permit the market sheds to remain, but a compromise was reached and the tracks were laid on Market street, and so much of the overhanging sheds as would obstruct the proper passage of cars was removed. At the same time the paved walk which bordered the

SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THIRD AND MARKET STREETS

Built prior to 1790 on the site of the old prison; it once was the home of John Fries.

outside of the sheds was removed, and the tracks ran close to the sheds, as they may be found to do on Second street, past the markets, where much the same problem has been met.

When the Legislature in 1830–31 made an appropriation toward the completion of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, the act had incorporated in it the provision that the Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of Philadelphia, which was the style of the corporation,

> shall engage to construct and continue the railroad (from Broad and Vine streets, where the city limits on the north were reached) down Broad street to Cedar (South) street; and also that they be authorized to intersect and construct a branch or branches of railroad from any point or points of the Pennsylvania Railroad east of the river Schuylkill, and not further north than Francis street, and carry the same to any point or points on the river Schuylkill or Delaware, within the limits of the said city, and to charge and receive the same tolls as may be charged on the Pennsylvania Railroad, according to the distance.

This railroad, which, in addition to continuing the Columbia Railroad south on Broad street to South, also branched off at Broad street and continued down Market to Third, to Dock, and to the "Drawbridge," as the intersection of Dock street and the river road, now Delaware avenue, continued to be called long after Dock creek ceased to exist.

The Broad street line was completed toward the end of the year 1833, and then attention was turned to the High, Third and Dock streets Railroad, as this branch became known. The controversy which followed lasted for several years, and it was not before 1838 that the road was built. There were double tracks eastward on Market street to Eighth, where the market sheds were encountered in the middle of the street. From that point to Third street there was a single track paralleling the sheds on the north side of the street.

This was the first municipal railroad in this city. The road was a feeder for the Columbia Railroad, and at the same time a convenience to the business interests on Market street and on the Delaware river front. The ordinances providing for the road stipulated that cars should be drawn by "animal power," and at a rate of speed not greater than four miles an hour. The road could be used by anybody who had a car, providing they entered into a contract with the proper city department for the use. All cars had to be numbered and otherwise designated, and there was a superintendent of the railroad who had charge of keeping count of cars, their loads, and the distance traveled, so that the tolls could be collected quarterly.

There was provision for carrying passengers, and for a while a passenger car or train left the Exchange, at Dock and Walnut streets, at regular intervals each day, and conveyed passengers to Broad and Vine streets. In the summer these cars took passengers to the Columbia

bridge, and they even had an opportunity to make a journey over the inclined railway, from the western end of the bridge, past Belmont. They also were run to Gray's Ferry Gardens, on the lower Schuylkill.

The consolidation of the various small municipalities and other local governments within the county in 1854, gave a new impetus to all kinds of local enterprises. When the city, by the act of consolidation, grew overnight from a city of four square miles to a metropolis of 130 square miles, at that time the largest city in the world, so far as area makes a city great, it was immediately recognized that the various lines of omnibuses were entirely inadequate for the needs of the newer city. Interest was being taken in steam railroads all over the country, and the tracks of the High and the Broad street railroads, owned by the city, had been in successful operation for a good many years, and seemed to point a way for the new era of transportation.

In April, 1854, the Philadelphia and Delaware River Railroad was incorporated by the Legislature, and from it grew the Frankford and Southwark Passenger Railway, which on Fifth and Sixth streets operated the first regular street railway in this city. There is no need to go into the history of this road, further than to say that orginally it was not intended for a street passenger railway. That was a later inspiration, and once started, local investors almost became wild with excitement to build city passenger railways.

There is a view of a proposed elevated railroad for Market street, which appears to have been suggested a few years earlier. Its purpose seems to have been the erection of a road which would not encroach upon the already crowded highway, but would extend very little beyond the eaves of the market sheds. As it is a curiosity, the view is reproduced.

This line on Fifth and Sixth streets was first put into operation January 21, 1858, and in July of the same year cars were running on Market street as far eastward as Third and two years later the road was authorized by ordinance to be extended to Front street. At this time, just before the sheds in the middle of the street were removed, the West Philadelphia Passenger Railway used a single track east of Eighth and had turnouts at several points where cars running in opposite directions could pass one another. The ordinance of 1860 permitted the laying of a parallel track east of Eighth street, the tracks being in the middle of the street.

Although authorized by the original act chartering the company to use any part of the city railroad, or other roads along their line, as the company desired, it appears that they did not use the city road, but these tracks paralleled the passenger company's, and continued to be used for freight transportation until finally removed after the Civil

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war. It was nearly a dozen years after that war before all the freight tracks had been removed from Market street east of Broad.

There was a court named Rapin's court that formerly opened off from the south side of Market street, west of Third. There is no indication of this passageway now, but it was a four-feet wide alley and ran between the present properties numbered 312 and 314. Although it seems to have widened in the rear, there is no mention of dwellers in the court in the early directories. Originally it appears to have been a passage or road on the west of the stone prison, but how it received its name cannot now be determined from any accessible data. This court appears on maps of the city as late as 1859, and it is also indicated on early maps. It is indicated on the map of 1762; it is on Varle's map of about 1794 and on Paxton's map of 1811.

Before we leave Third and Market streets it might be noted that the late B. F. Dewees started his retail dry goods business on the north side of the street, at No. 303, about the beginning of the Civil war, next to the building erected by Richard Wistar, who had his store on the south side at No. 96, now 306, while his building at the northwest corner was being erected.

On the site of the present 325 Market street lived John Wister, a younger brother of the first Caspar Wistar who came to this country. And before we go further, the difference in spelling of the name observed by the brothers needs some explanation, for it has confused many into a belief that either one or the other spellings denoted *the* Wister or Wistar. As a matter of fact, the whole confusion arose at the time that Caspar Wistar became naturalized here. At that time the clerk probably without asking for information spelled the named Wistar. It seemed a matter of no importance to Caspar, but later he found that he had permitted that spelling to become legalized, and the reason why owners of either name today are so particular is that when property is passing it becomes a matter of real importance whose property is being transferred, or to whom, and the difference of a letter in a name might prove annoying.

Caspar Wistar, whose name in Germany was spelt Wuster, with a dieresis over the u, came from Hillspach, near Heidelberg. He was born in 1696, and leaving his home to find his fortune in America arrived in Philadelphia in September, 1717.

His father was a Jager in charge of forests of the Palatine, and Caspar brought with him his old Jager rifle which he had carried in assisting his father. Here he soon established himself as a manufacturer of buttons and glass, and in this business is said to have been the pioneer in this country. He prospered and was thrifty, and as a consequence he rapidly amassed wealth, largely represented by real

estate. He was the father of Dr. Caspar Wistar and of Richard Wistar, whom we have just mentioned.

Ten years after Caspar arrived here, and after his father's death, his younger brother, John Wister, for so he and his descendants always spelt their name, came to Philadelphia from Germany. He is said to have had little more than his hands and a determination to succeed to assist him, but, like his brother, he prospered. Arriving here in 1727, we find him in 1731 purchasing a large lot of ground near Fourth and Market streets.

At this time, it is said, Wister's lot was covered with a thick growth of blackberry bushes. Instead of ruthlessly cutting this growth and throwing it away, John Wister gathered the berries and converted them into wine. Of course, he sold the wine, and the venture was so successful that he began the importation of wines from his native country. But, as with Girard at a later date, the importation of wines was a side issue. Wister also imported implements of husbandry and gained his fortune in the hardware trade. He made it his habit to invest in real estate all his money not needed in his business and it is said of him that until his death in 1789 he never parted with any parcel of real estate he had purchased.

He bought houses and stores along Market street; he bought a large tract of ground in Germantown and Bristol township and his woods extended along the side of the present Wister street for its entire length. He owned other property in Germantown, one piece of which contained his "Big House," where he dwelt in the summer season. His winters were spent on Market street, and it was there that he died in 1789 at the age of eighty-one years. He lies buried in the Friends' Burying Grounds at Fourth and Arch streets, but, of course, there is no indication of the spot where his remains were interred.

His son Daniel also lived in the Market street house, and on this building, it is said, one of the first lightning rods advised by Franklin in 1749 was erected in this city. Descendants of the Wisters still cherish a piece of this rod, which is hexagonal in shape. The statement has been made that this was the first lightning conveyor erected by Franklin, but this appears to be erroneous, for it was on his own dwelling that the many-sided printer placed the first rod. Once, to Franklin's immense satisfaction, the lighting rod on his house received a tremendous bolt of the electric fluid. The copper point was melted, but the philosopher's home was saved.

Next to John Wister's on Market street dwelt his brother Caspar, but the exact location of his house is not easily ascertained now, beyond the fact that at one time it was in the north side of Market street and near Fourth.

While we are so near Fourth street we may give a little attention to

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LIEUT.-COLONEL THOMAS FORREST
Quaker, soldier, playwright and congressman

another remarkable character of the eighteenth century who lived here, Colonel Thomas Forrest, who also afterward lived in Germantown and became closely associated with that town's interests.

Colonel Forrest, although a Quaker, as a young man was a rather dashing person and given to practical joking. At the outbreak of the Revolution he organized a company of scouts, who are said to have attired themselves as Indians. Whether this is true, he certainly was appointed captain of a company of marines by the Committee of Safety in the spring of the year 1776. He was authorized to recruit his force and to serve with the floating battery in the Delaware.

In October, the same year, he was commissioned captain of the second company of Major Proctor's artillery. With this command he was present at the battle of Trenton, and when Proctor raised a regiment of artillery the next year Forrest was commissioned major, and in 1778 promoted to be lieutenant colonel. He held this rank until he resigned in October, 1781, almost at the close of the war, in which he had served actively for more than five years.

Colonel Forrest in 1785 lived on the north side of Market street between Fourth and Fifth streets, but in 1791 we find him located next door to the corner of Fourth, on the site of the present No. 339. At that time he is described as purchaser of certificates and paper money. A few years later he retired to Germantown, where he spent the remainder of his life in his estate on the Main street, "Pomona Grove," next to the Upper Burying Ground.

As a youth he attended the school of David James Dove in Videll's alley, and afterwards he used as characters in a most amusing but very broad farce, which he described as a comic opera, both Dove and his assistant, John Reily. Other well-known local characters of the time were mercilessly lampooned in the piece, notably the printer, Anthony Armbruster, and the play created a great deal of amusement among the knowing Philadelphians.

The piece was entitled, "The Disappointment, or the Force of Credulity," and was first published in 1767. On the title page the author's name is given as Andrew Barton, and the imprint is New York, but it is known that it was published here. The play was placed in rehearsal at the old Southwark Theatre by Hallam's Company, but when the day of performance arrived the manager announced that in consequence of the numerous local allusions the play had been withdrawn. A second edition of the play, much enlarged, was printed in 1796, and both editions now are very rare. Had Forrest's play been produced, it would have been the first native dramatic piece to receive a presentation in a theatre. As it was the manager quickly announced for production "The Prince of Parthia," by Thomas Godfrey, the younger, and as it was played shortly afterwards, it became the first

American play to be acted, as it was the first native tragedy to be written.

Up in Germantown Thomas Forrest lived a quiet life. He took a deep interest in the Germantown Academy, and in 1794 was chosen one of its trustees. Five years later he was elected president of the board. He resigned in 1806. From 1819 to 1823 he represented his district in Congress, and died in 1825 at the age of seventy-seven years.

CHAPTER VII

FRANKLIN AND HIS FAMILY IN FRANKLIN'S COURT—JAMES WILSON, WILLIAM GODDARD AND THE BAILEYS

Readers of Franklin's "Autobiography" need not be told that Market street between Third and Fourth streets was the scene of one of the first striking incidents in his Philadelphia career, and all who are familiar with the story of his life will know that it was in this block that he spent the last years of his life.

In October, 1723, when Franklin, then not quite eighteen years of age, landed at Market street wharf, between eight and nine o'clock one Sunday morning, with a Dutch dollar and about a shilling in coppers in his pocket, the houses in the city were unnumbered. Consequently it is not possible to locate many of the buildings with which the young printer's career was connected here. There are to be found in the pages of his fascinating "Autobiography" occasional remarks and statements which do let us get within a few hundred feet of the various houses in which he lived or in which he visited friends.

We have his own words for the fact that John Read, who became his father-in-law, lived on Market street, then High street, between Third and Fourth streets. It is true that we do not know on which side of the street he lived, but Franklin has left us an impression of the scene when he walked out High street eating a roll, and with others under his arms, passed the door of John Read.

Miss Read, a very young girl, was standing at the door and watched the hungry young man as he walked and lunched. He noticed the smile that lightened up her face as she viewed the strange object, and in later life he admitted that he must have made "an awkward, ridiculous appearance." He walked out to Fourth street, which was at that time "the upper end of High street," and continued to Chestnut and then finally found himself at Market street wharf again.

It was in John Read's house that, a few days later, Franklin was taken to board, for his employer, Keimer, did not like the idea of his journeyman working for his rival, Bradford, with whom the young man lodged at first. John Read, as may be seen by an advertisement in the *Mercury* for 1723, was a carpenter. In that newspaper there is an advertisement of a person who is stopping with him who is willing "to teach poor negroes to read the Holy Scriptures without expense to their masters," and this indicates that Mrs. Read supplemented her husband's

income as a house carpenter by taking boarders. Also, as may be learned from another advertisement, she sold ointment for the cure of the itch, and generally was a helpful mate for her husband.

All efforts to locate Franklin's first printing office on Market street have resulted fruitlessly. Some years ago Charles Henry Hart made a careful search, even consulting deeds and other documents, but he came no nearer than others who had preceded him. The indications are from his phrase, "near the market," that his shop was between Second and Third, and nearer the latter than the former. This was in 1728. The first book issued by Franklin and his partner Meredith, as has already been related, bore the imprint of Keimer, for the young printers had only completed work begun by their former master. The first volume to bear their imprint was published in 1729. This was an edition of the Psalms of David, "imitated in the language of the New Testament and applied to Christian worship, by I. Watts." This little book was "Printed by B. F. and H. M. for Thomas Godfrey, and sold at his shop."

Thomas Godfrey, who was by trade a glazier, was reputed among early Philadelphians as a great mathematician. He invented a quadrant, later known as Hadley's, and was father of the younger Thomas Godfrey, who achieved a reputation for his youthful poetry. In his "Autobiography," Franklin relates that he got Godfrey to come and keep house, or, rather, that he had Godfrey occupied the dwelling over the shop and he boarded with Mrs. Godfrey. Franklin did not get on well with Mrs. Godfrey, whom he accused of trying to make a match between him and a relative of hers. As soon as he could do so he rid himself of the Godfreys and then, in 1730, he married Miss Deborah Read.

When he married he brought Mrs. Read, his mother-in-law, to live with him. She was then "The Widow Read," as her advertisement of her ointment and salve in her son-in-law's paper, *The Pennsylvania Gazette* notes. Her advertisement mentions further that she has "removed from the upper end of High street to the New Printing Office near the Market, and continues to make and sell her well-known ointment," etc.

From this statement it would appear that Franklin continued to call his shop "the new printing office," and that the word new had more than a temporary meaning. If this be the case, then Franklin continued to print in the same shop during his career, and if this surmise be correct the effort to locate the New Printing Office seems hopeless. It is known where the shop of his successors, Hall & Sellers, was located, and as this was below Second, and therefore opposite the market stalls of the Jersey Market, the designation "Near the market" becomes incomprehensible.

In 1764, having been appointed agent for the Province by the Assembly, in spite of strong protests, for Franklin desired to overthrow the whole proprietary system and make Pennsylvania a royal province, he sailed for England. He had just built his house in a court on the south side of Market street, between Third and Fourth, which was known as Franklin's court. It appears that the house was finished and furnished after Franklin left the city, and consequently we have an excellent idea of its furnishings in a letter written to him by Mrs. Franklin in 1765.

She describes the first-floor furniture as consisting of a handsome sideboard, with chairs to match it, the latter being upholstered with horsehair. She mentions a second-hand carpet which she bought "cheap for its goodness, and nearly new;" a Scotch carpet for the parlor that "has had much fault found with it," and desires her husband to purchase a Turkey carpet "if he meets with one." In the Blue Room was a harmonica and a harpsicord. In the "room which you call yours" she tells him there had been placed a desk, "the harmonica made like a desk, a large chest with all the writings, the boxes of glasses for music and for the electricity, and all your clothes."

Franklin's court now opens between 316 and 318 Market street. At the time Franklin went there to live it was only a court, entered through a narrow passage and widening in the back. It extended nearly to the middle of the block toward Chestnut street, and his house was erected across the present South Orianna street, as the avenue is now named. There were no other houses in the court, but in front of his house there was a large garden in which there is said to have been a mulberry tree. When he was in the city, Franklin dwelt there and it continued to be his home until his death in April, 1790. His funeral took place from Franklin's court. His wife had died just before the opening of the Revolution and he spent his closing years with his daughter, Mrs. Richard Bache, and his son-in-law, who lived with him.

Franklin was elected President of Pennsylvania in 1785, and it was about this time that he had his house in Franklin's court enlarged. He put up a wing to his dwelling that was three stories in height, the first floor of which contained a large apartment which he intended for meetings of the American Philosophical Society, of which he was one of the founders and president. In the second story he had his library, and the third floor was laid out in bedrooms.

> "None of the woodwork of one room communicates with the woodwork of any other room," wrote Franklin, proud of the improvements he had inaugurated in the construction, "and even the steps of the stairs are plastered close to the boards, besides the plastering on the laths under the joists. There are also trap-doors to go out upon the roof, so that one may go out and wet the shingles in case of a neighboring fire. But indeed, I think the staircases should be stone and the floors tiled, as in Paris, and the roofs either tiled or slated."

All the European celebrities who came to Philadelphia during the last half a dozen years of the philosopher's life managed to make at least one visit to the home of the sage of Franklin's court. In the summer of 1788 the unfortunate Brissot De Warville saw him there, and wrote a most enthusiastic letter to a friend in Paris.

> "I have just been to see him," he wrote, "and enjoy his conversation, in the midst of his books, which he still calls his best friends. The pain of his cruel infirmity changes not the serenity of his countenance nor the calmness of his conversation. Franklin, surrounded by his family, appears to be one of those patriarchs whom he has so well described and whose language he has copied with such simple elegance. I have found in America a great number of enlightened politicians and virtuous men, but I find none who appear to possess, in so high a degree as Franklin, the characteristics of a real philosopher."

One sentence in Brissot de Warville's letter seems to hint at the probable location of his father-in-law's house in 1723.

> "He lives," writes the French traveler, "with his family in a house which he has built on the spot where he first landed, sixty years before, and where he found himself wandering without a home and without acquaintance. In this house he has established a printing press and a type foundry."

After Franklin's death his house, according to the directory for 1795, was occupied by the Portuguese Ambassador, M. La Cheva Friere. In 1801 William Duane, who had married Mrs. Benjamin Franklin Bache, after the death of her husband, dwelt there, and is designated in the directory as printer and proprietor of the *Aurora*. At this time it appears that at least a part of the house was occupied by Mrs. H. Capron for her boarding school. By 1808 Mrs. Capron had removed her "Ladies' Academy" to 64 Spruce street, and William Duane was at 106 High street, at the southeast corner of Franklin's court, in which his printing office was located.

The *Aurora* office was at 98 High street in 1810, and in 1813 the old place at the corner of the court, 106, was occupied by Duane's son, William J. Duane, as a stationer's shop. In 1814 we find the *Aurora* is published by James Wilson, the grandfather of President Wilson, and the office is at 98 High street, while the publisher is living at 15 Franklin's court. William Duane, who became adjutant general of the United States Army for this district, had his office with the *Aurora* at 98.

The map of 1811 does not indicate that Franklin's court was opened through to Chestnut street at that time, but it was opened within a few years, when the street became known as Franklin place. About the middle of the last century the street had its name changed to Hudson's alley, the name that had been given to Whalebone alley, south of Chestnut street.

About 1840, according to Hazard, there was a tavern in Franklin place on the west side of the street which had a striking signboard. It

RICHARD BACHE
Franklin's son-in-law

MRS. SARAH BACHE
Franklin's daughter

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was entitled "Going to Law" on one side of the oval board, and "Coming from Law," on the opposite side. It represented a man on a handsome horse going to law, and a very much dejected, shabby man on a worse-jaded steed coming from law. A few years ago, when there was a general rearrangement of small streets and alleys, and a general change in their names, Hudson alley received its present designation, South Orianna street.

Richard Bache, who married Franklin's only daughter, Sarah, in 1767, was a native of Yorkshire, England, where he was born in 1737. He soon attracted the interest of Franklin, and the latter, when he had the opportunity, made him his deputy postmaster of Philadelphia in 1775. The following year he was appointed Postmaster General by the Continental Congress, and occupied that office until 1782. The Baches lived with Franklin in Franklin's court, and there their children were born. Bache was so ardent a patriot during the Revolution and during its prelude that he was compelled to fly from the city when the British arrived, and went to live in retirement an Dunck's Ferry, opposite Beverly, N. J.

Bache's son, Benjamin Franklin Bache, was born in Franklin's court in 1769. He had the advantage of accompanying his grandfather to Europe when Franklin was sent to the Court of France. While in France he gained a knowledge of the printing trade in the shop of Didot, and upon his return with his grandfather, in 1785, completed his studies in the College of Philadelphia.

On October 1, 1790, the young man printed the first number of the *General Advertiser,* which, as soon as the French Revolution revealed its force, became thoroughly imbued with the right of the French cause. The paper in 1794 had its name changed to *The Aurora and General Advertiser,* and it began a series of biting attacks on the Federal Government and on Washington himself.

The *Aurora* began its carefully planned attacks on Washington about the time of the Jay Treaty. Mathew Carey in his autobiography gives a little light upon this plan which resulted in the *Aurora* losing much of its support both from subscribers and from advertisers. According to Carey there was in 1796 an association here whose leaders were Dr. Leib, later postmaster of Philadelphia; Dr. Reynolds, John Beckly, William Duane, J. Clay and Benjamin Franklin Bache.

> "As the name and character of General Washington," comments Carey, "were employed as a species of argument in favor of the treaty, it was debated among the leaders for a considerable time, whether the validity of this argument, that is, the character and merits of General Washington, should be canvassed. At length, in an evil hour, it was resolved to assail General Washington in the *Aurora*, and in pamphlets, of which a number appeared, some of them coarse and vulgar.
>
> "Among the rest, the spurious letters of Washington, during the Revolutionary War, and the attacks on the General in an old pamphlet, wherein

he is charged with the murder of a Frenchman bearing a flag of truce during the war of 1756. A Pole of the name of Treziulney, who acted as bookkeeper for Mr. Duane, wrote a pamphlet, the object of which was to prove the utter incapacity of General Washington as displayed during the Revolution."

At this time Bache had as his editor William Duane, who had been a successful journalist in India, where he was kidnapped by the Government and transported to England without any reason being given him, but which he knew was the reply to his arraignment of the Indian Government. Duane probably was one of the first of those lively writers who are regarded as "yellow journalists," and he spared no one where he believed wrong had been done.

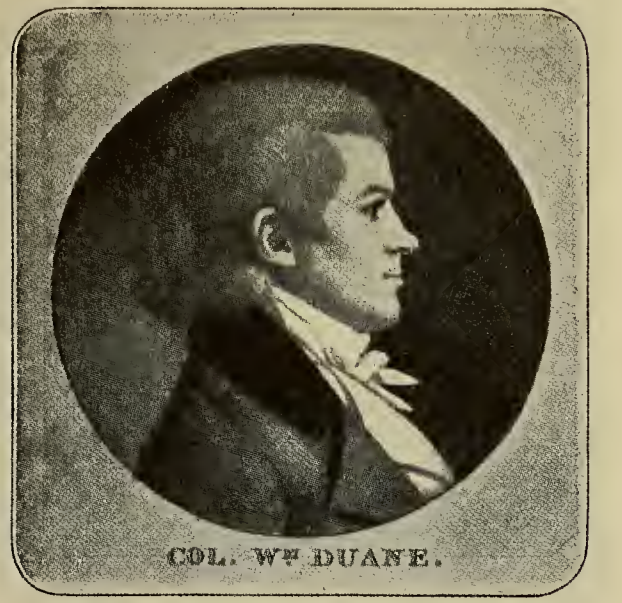
He was a forceful writer, and while he edited the *Aurora* there was constant warfare between it and the papers published by Fenno and Cobbett, both of which upheld the administration, while Bache's paper was democratic, siding with Jefferson and the "French faction."

Young Bache died in 1798, a victim of yellow fever, leaving a widow, whose maiden name was Margaret Hartman Markoe, and who belonged to a Danish family from Santa Cruz. Mrs. Bache, after the death of her husband, continued the publication of his newspaper under the direction of Duane, who had become a power in Democratic politics here, and in 1801 employer and employe were married. After that time the paper was generally alluded to as Duane's *Aurora,* and, indeed, he made it what it was.

Duane had as sub-editor his son by a former marriage, William J. Duane, who married the second daughter of Richard and Sarah Bache. The younger Duane, as his daughter, the late Mrs. E. D. Gillespie, has related in her "Book of Remembrance," did not enjoy journalistic work and he soon retired from that profession to become known later as a leading lawyer in this city. He also became Secretary of the Treasury under President Jackson, and drafted the famous will of Stephen Girard.

In a sense, the *Aurora* may be said to have incited the country to declare war against Great Britain in 1812. Scarcely an issue of Duane's sheet during the days of heated controversy immediately preceding hostilities appeared without the figures "6257" appearing in large type on its editorial page. These figures, now rather cabalistic, were immediately recognized in that day as meaning the number of American seamen who had been impressed from American ships by British frigates and privateers.

With these figures at its editorial masthead day after day, the *Aurora* thundered for a declaration of war against Great Britain. Of course, Philadelphians who were in possession of Duane's history, and knew of the rough treatment he had received at the hands of the Vice-regal Government in India when his paper was suppressed in Calcutta,



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COL. WILLIAM DUANE
Proprietor and editor of the *Aurora*, who urged the War of 1812

BOSTON PUBLIC

JAMES WILSON
Grandfather of President Woodrow Wilson and editor of the *Aurora*, 1813-14

OSTO
PUB
LIBR

15 FRANKLIN PLACE, NOW 17 SOUTH ORIANNA STREET

From 1813 to 1815 James Wilson, grandfather of President Woodrow Wilson, lived here (light-colored house), while he was the nominal publisher of Duane's *Aurora*. At that time the old Franklin court had just been made a thoroughfare to Chestnut street. Later it was named Hudson street, and in 1896 received its present name.

and he was kidnapped and taken to England without trial, understood that a great deal of this thunder was the desire of the writer for vengeance on the government that had despoiled him. It was a very natural attitude for Duane to take, and finally, after the *Aurora* had demanded war for months, Congress, refusing to listen to the advocates of "a shameful peace," declared for war.

Duane was delighted, and within a short time he was appointed Adjutant General of the Army for the Eastern District, with the rank of Colonel, and wrote or compiled several useful books dealing with army regulations, drills, and on the art of warfare generally. He also soon found that his official duties precluded his active conduct of his newspaper, and it was then that the chance for his young printer, James Wilson, came.

The issue of the *Aurora* for May 4, 1813, contained the inscription under its title, "Printed (Daily) by James Wilson, at 98 Market street." Wilson soon removed from Tenth and Spruce, where he lived, to 15 Franklin court, and dwelt there with his wife and family during the time he was in control as publisher of the paper.

This James Wilson was to become the grandfather of President Woodrow Wilson. At the time he was printing the *Aurora* he had been in this country but five years, having landed here from Ireland in the fall of the year 1808. The first thing he seems to have done after he landed was to marry Miss Anne Adams, who, like himself, was a native of Ireland and who came to Philadelphia on the same ship that brought him. Wilson was twenty-one years of age at the time, but had served his apprenticeship as a printer in Ireland and was regarded as a good workman. He was immediately employed by Duane, who had himself lived for years in the Green Isle, and there his son, William J. Duane, had been born. Wilson's name appeared at the head of the paper for little more than a year. Then Duane's duties as Adjutant General appear to have permitted him to resume, for the peace was signed in December, 1814, and became known here toward the end of January, 1815.

Wilson then removed to Steubenville, Ohio, with his wife and increasing family. Three of his children were born during his residence in this city, and one of them, his second son, Robert, was born in the house in Franklin's court, on September 10, 1813, the day of Perry's victory on Lake Erie.

William Duane continued to publish the *Aurora* until 1822, when, its power having waned, he sold the property to Richard Penn Smith, who two years later combined it with the *Franklin Gazette*. After he withdrew from the *Aurora* Duane made a visit to South America, which was just throwing off Spanish authority, and was somewhat heated by revolutions for independence. In 1829 Duane was appointed Prothono-

tary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, which office he held until his death in 1835.

The elder Duane was a powerful leader writer. Although he lacked the withering pen of Cobbett, he wrote with conviction and without restraint. His were telling leaders and, of course, as he was a strong party man, he always wrote in the interest of his party, which at first was termed Republican, and later Democratic. He was a fine figure in Philadelphia journalism, and his paper in its best days was quoted, and often his own fiery attacks were answered by equally burning words by the opposition press. It was in this school that James Wilson learned the editorial side of newspaper making as well as the practical mechanical part of it, and he in turn when he began the publication of newspapers in Ohio and in Pittsburgh brought to his editorial writing much of the same kind of forceful language that has distinguished Duane's work in the *Aurora.*

For a time Duane occupied the western corner of Franklin's court, and this building, numbered 108 in 1810, was on the site of the present 318. In that year John Binns, the founder of the *Democratic Press,* and a politician of some importance in his time, moved into the building on the other side of the court, now 316, and in his recollections has left a brief notice of his occupancy.

> "In the rear of this house," he notes, "was a large office, which had been occupied as a dwelling by the late Dr. Franklin. I rented the store on Market street. This house and office had, before I moved into it, been occupied by Colonel Duane. It was in that house he lived and kept a bookstore, and had the printing office of the *Aurora* in the large back building.
>
> "I have no distinct recollection of the rent I paid for those premises, but I know they were all offered to be sold to me for $18,000. Since that time that property has been worth more than five times that sum. From these premises, in 1815, I removed to the house and office, No. 70 Chestnut street, between Second and Third. I have no hesitancy in saying that there is now [1854] more business done in that square than, in 1815, there was done in all Chestnut street, from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. From the time we came to Philadelphia until some time after we removed to Market street, we kept a cow, and had her milked morning and evening. While in Market street our cow was stolen, and we 'ne'er saw her more.' "

As some remarkable characters either lived or had their places of business in the square on Market street between Third and Fourth streets, we must linger a little before proceeding westward. From what has already been related in previous articles, it must be evident that Market street in the early days was the centre of the publishing trade, whether of books, newspapers or magazines, and in the square under consideration there were other printers beyond Franklin and his descendants engaged in the trade. William Goddard, who printed the *Pennsylvania Chronicle,* was one of these; Francis Bailey, who among other books printed the first "City Directory," in 1785, was another. Mathew Carey and James Humphreys were others engaged in the printing or publishing business at one time or other in this square.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

WILLIAM GODDARD
Printer and publisher of the
Pennsylvania Chronicle

There also have been several inns or taverns on Market street between Third and Fourth streets, although only one of them has been especially noted. In 1767 the Indian Queen tavern stood at the southeast corner of Fourth and Market streets. At that time the inn was kept by John Nicholson, who may have been related to the later and far more celebrated John Nicholson, who for a few years astonished the whole country by his daring real estate speculations, by which he managed at one time to have title to nearly one-seventh of the land in Pennsylvania.

The Indian Queen, like many another old inn, served as a guidepost to those who sought other buildings of their time, and having established its definite location we are better able to indicate where some more important structures were siuated in 1767. For instance, in the pages of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* we learn that John Wister's house was "nearly opposite the postoffice and opposite John Gibson's." Thomas Foxcroft was the postmaster and had the postoffice in his shop.

John Gibson's dry goods store, we learn from the same source, was "two doors from the Indian Queen." This gives us the location of Goddard's printing office and the place of publication of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle,* for the imprint on the paper explains that it is printed "by William Goddard at the new printing office in Market street near the postoffice," and "opposite John Wister's." Thus we get the impression that as the Indian Queen was at the corner of Fourth, two doors east of it was John Gibson's, which, being opposite to John Wister's, must have been next to Goddard's printing office, and leaves us to infer that the post-office was still further eastward in the block. Foxcroft continued as postmaster for some years, for he is known to have held that office as late as 1771. It is possible, although the statement is pure speculation, that Goddard's printing office was subsequently occupied by Francis Bailey. The latter occupied a house on the site of the present 326.

Goddard, who had been a more or less successful printer in Providence, Rhode Island, came to this city in 1766 and entered into partnership with Joseph Galloway, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, and with Thomas Wharton, a merchant. Both of Goddard's partners were Quakers, men of wealth and of great influence in the Province, but they did not desire to be known as the publishers of a newspaper in which they wanted their political beliefs paraded and their political enemies severely handled.

As a result of a secret partnership and agreement, which Goddard subsequently revealed in his frank autobiography, the first number of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* was issued bearing the date Monday, January 26, 1767. Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle* will always remain a historic publication, because it was in its pages that John Dickinson's

"Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer," were printed in the winter of 1767–1768. These letters, which in a measure gave an idea of what the mother country might expect were she to persist in her strong measures against the Americans, caused the partners of Goddard much annoyance. They reasoned with the printer and finally, after Goddard continued his publication for several years, the partnership was dissolved. Galloway and Wharton did not like the American note that managed to find way into Goddard's weekly, for during the Revolution Galloway not only remained a loyalist, but went to England, where he resided until his death in 1803.

Francis Bailey, who may have occupied the shop formerly used by Goddard, but certainly was in a shop on Market street on the site of the present 326, where his sign was "The Yorick's Head," came to this city about 1778. He had learned his trade as printer in the shop of Peter Miller at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, and in 1771 he and Stewart Herbert formed a partnership and opened a printing office in Lancaster. It is said that the types he used were manufactured in Germantown, but Bailey was so good a mechanician that he could manufacture type himself, and subsequent to his removal to Philadelphia did make some of his own types.

The fact that Bailey bought part of his printing materials from Goddard when he came to this city is another reason for believing that it was quite probable that the newcomer took the place of the printer who left town several years before. While this fact might seem to be of little importance of itself, it is of great significance in determining the location of other places in the immediate vicinity of Fourth and Market streets in 1767.

Bailey, in 1779, published the *United States Magazine,* and had Hugh H. Brackenridge for editor. Brackenridge was a most eccentric genius, and as the author of that remarkable romance, "Modern Chivalry," the first important satire on American society as it was during the first decade of the Federal Government, he has a permanent place in any history of American literature. Brackenridge afterward went to Pittsburgh. He was a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and also was editor of a Pittsburgh paper during the early years of the last century.

Bailey's magazine did not exist long, but its owner succeeded in maintaining it for a whole year, which was regarded as a feat, in view of the failure of Aitken's magazine a few years before. In 1781 he began the publication of the *Freeman's Journal,* a weekly he continued for about a year, when he sold it to Joseph Scott.

About 1795 Bailey took his son Robert into partnership, and the firm name became Francis and Robert Bailey. The elder Bailey died about 1802, and the business was afterwards carried on by his son,

who moved to Crown street. On the death of Robert Bailey, in 1808, his widow, Mrs. Lydia R. Bailey, took charge. Mrs. Bailey became one of the first woman printers in this city, and she had the distinction of being chosen City Printer by Councils. She printed the "Census Directory for 1811," and for many years her imprint was found on ordinances, committee reports and other city printing. She retired in 1861 and died February 21, 1869, at the age of ninety-one years. In 1809 she printed "Freneau's Poems," in two volumes, with frontispieces by Eckstein, one of the best editions of this Revolutionary poet that appeared.

Three of the apprentices of Mrs. Bailey became successful printers in this city. These were Robert P. King, Alexander Baird, of the firm of King & Baird, and John Fagan, a stereotyper. Mrs. Bailey at the time of her death lived at 26 North Fifth street, where she had had her printing office for many years. She left money for an endowment fund for the Third Presbyterian Church, and it has since been considerably increased. She lies buried in the Bailey family lot in yard of the Third Presbyterian Church, Fourth and Pine streets.

CHAPTER VIII

THIRD STREET TO FOURTH—MATHEW CAREY—JUDGE INGERSOLL—AND OTHER RESIDENTS.

The historic interest of Market street between Third and Fourth was by no means exhausted in the preceding chapter. Franklin, of course, looms up as the greatest figure, and as the most historic personage who ever dwelt within these bounds; but there were others, some of them whose importance was not limited to the figure they presented to their neighbors. Mathew Carey, with whom we spent a few minutes in an earlier chapter, had his shop in this square for many years, and the business he founded in 1785 exists to the present day, while several of his descendants have made their fame known to other parts of the country, and one of them is known even to historical students in many lands.

Probably autobiography is one of the most entertaining forms of literature when the writer is, as usually he is, frank and confiding. The greatest autobiographies are of this character, notably those of Franklin and the late Governor Pennypacker. While Mathew Carey wrote his autobiography toward the end of his career, the only objection to it is that he did not continue it beyond his early life in Ireland and his first years in this country. Although it remains a fragment, it is most instructive, and his observations upon men and events, while not told with the artlessness assumed by Franklin, nevertheless are evidently honest descriptions of impressions made upon their author.

Carey, together with several others, among them W. Spotswood, T. Siddons and J. Trenchard began the publication of the *Columbian Magazine* in 1786, one of the most ambitious attempts at magazine making this country had witnessed up to that time. It was a close copy of the *Gentleman's Magazine,* of London, and was illustrated with engraved plates. It ran through nine volumes, ceasing in 1792, although Carey had withdrawn from the enterprise after the third number had come from the press. There were five partners, and Carey wisely decided that the profits of the enterprise were far too small to go around among so many.

But immediately Carey began to organize a magazine of his own. This was called the *American Museum,* and its first number was issued in January, 1787. It ran a course almost parallel to that of the *Columbian,* for it, too, expired in 1792. The cause of its death was that

it provided too much material for the subscription price. It contained a few original articles and carried a nice selection of essays, articles on economy and history and current poetry, much of it clipped from other sources. The volumes of the *American Museum* are of considerable value to historians of the country's literature, for it was a virtual mirror of the best that appeared in print from contemporary books, magazines and newspapers. It also gave a history of the times in its reports of proceedings of Congress and the inclusion of many state papers.

In his "Autobiography" Mathew Carey explains that not only was the subscription rate of $2.40 too low for the amount of paper he gave, but that his subscribers in many instances were remotely located from Philadelphia and he could not collect even this small subscription rate without paying about 30 per cent. for collection. The work was highly appreciated by men of prominence in the country. General Washington gave the magazine his personal endorsement over his own signature, and every volume of the magazine was dedicated, just as books formerly were, to some celebrity. One of them was dedicated to Governor Mifflin, another to John Dickinson, etc. In 1798 Carey published another volume of his *Museum*. This was an annual register, and he intended to continue it yearly, but it failed of the necessary success, and the 1798 volume, now the scarcest of all, was the last.

For a while Carey was in partnership with Stewart and another person on Front street, and the earlier volumes of the *American Museum* bear the imprint of Carey, Stewart & Co. The same imprint appears on the quarto Bible, of the Douay version, which he began to print in 1789. This not only was the first quarto Bible printed in English in this country, but was the first edition of the so-called Catholic Bible to come from an American press. This venture was fairly successful, and in 1802 Carey, then on Market street, at 118, the site of the present 328, published a quarto of the King James' version of the Bible, also the first quarto of that version to be printed in the United States.

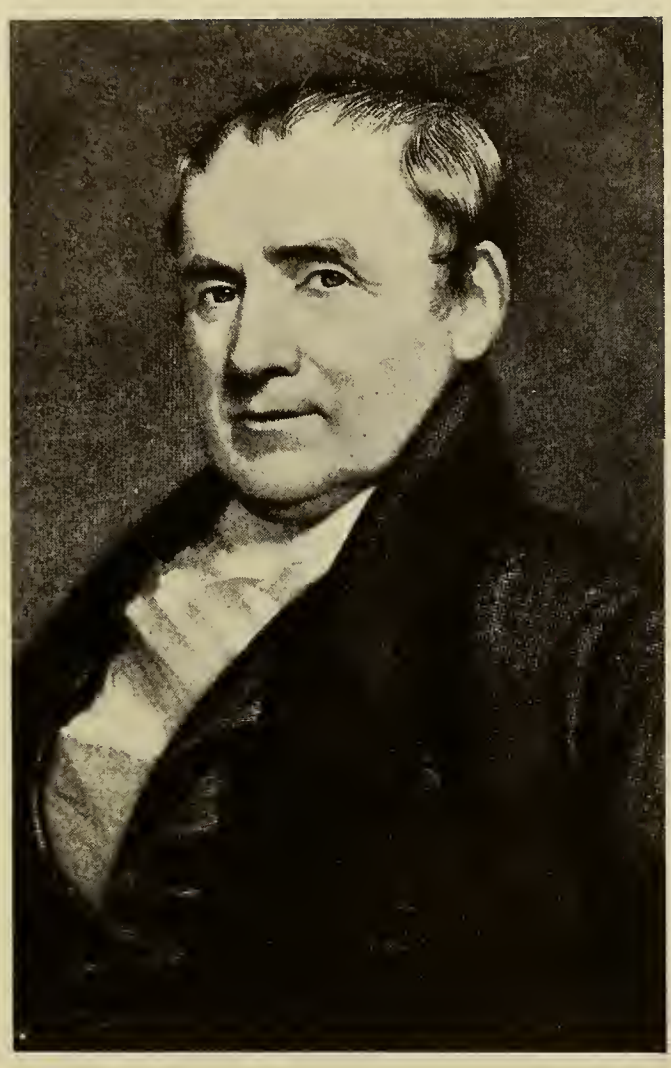
Carey announced the terms of his Catholic Bible on the back cover of his *American Museum*. From this advertisement on the cover of the number for December, 1789, it is learned that it was issued in forty-eight weekly numbers, the whole work completed in 984 pages. Number 2 was announced as ready on December 13th, and the price of each part was one-eighth of a dollar, or for the whole work $6 to subscribers, and to non-subscribers, $7. Carey announced that a number would be ready every Saturday morning at the publisher's store, and that subscribers were "to pay for each on delivery." Those who subscribed for the complete work were to pay $3 on subscribing and $3 when the complete work was delivered to them.

That Carey alone was able to print these Bibles was a feat that will be better understood when it is learned that the Aitken edition of the King James version was only attempted after several booksellers were interested in the venture. That was in 1782, and the enterprise had the endorsement of the Congress. But Carey understood the value of having on hand both the Catholic and the authorized versions of the Scriptures, and for years afterward he supplied the trade of the entire country. Both versions went into several editions, and owing to the necessities of the times, Carey was compelled to keep the pages in type to save composition. Not only was he compelled to keep locked up in chases thousands of pounds of metal types, but this idle type represented investment of capital, running into thousands of dollars.

No such enterprise on the part of a printer ever before had been known in this country. Carey, in 1804, had an idea that he would have the pages of the Bible stereotyped, having heard of the invention of stereotyping in Didot's shop in Paris. He entered into correspondence on the subject, but found the person who wanted to introduce the method desired far more money than the project would be worth, so the subject was dropped and it was not until 1844 that the original pages of type for the quarto Bibles were broken up. This was done by the Careys in order to get some brevier type from the notes, for use in a cheap edition of Lover's "Rory o'More." Therefore, for more than fifty years the Careys had not only one Bible, but two of them in standing type. Carey reprinted the Waverley novels from "early sheets" contracted for with Scott's publishers.

In his "Autobiography," Mathew Carey also dwells for a few paragraphs on his domestic affairs. He relates how he had become a little bit interested in a young woman, whose father, a commodore, assumed great airs, and that when he approached the father and asked for his daughter's hand, the father would not think of it because Carey's prospects did not appear to be as bright as he insisted was necessary. The autobiographer relates that unlike many another swain, he did not depart dejected or despairing, but by the following day seemed to think he had just escaped a bad bargain.

The humor of the situation appeared later, when Carey, having received some money, had set himself up in business and had begun the publication of a newspaper. Then the young woman visited him with her aunt to renew the acquaintance, for they saw he was regarded as a person of some importance. But he treated them so coldly that they never returned. A few years later, or in 1790, Carey married a young woman whom he describes as poor as himself. His wife, who was ten years younger than he, brought him little more than some ancient furniture that he estimates could not have been worth more than $100, and that he had just about as much. He was so short of money that he had



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MATHEW CAREY
Printer, economist and publicist

to borrow on Saturday nights to pay his employes and had to ask credit in the stores and in the market.

But the young publisher and his helpful wife, who had a strong fund of common sense, never complained. They lived in harmony, raised a family of nine children, and their thrift and industry was rewarded, for not only did Mathew Carey become a man of prominence in the community, but he became known as a publisher and bookseller and as a convincing writer on political economy all over the country. When he died, in 1839, he had been a man of wealth for a good many years, having retired from active business in 1824, when one of his sons succeeded him in a newly formed firm.

No account of Mathew Carey should neglect the heroic part the printer and publicist played during the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793, the greatest calamity that ever visited the city from the date of its foundation. The disease made its appearance in the last days of the summer, and within a few weeks had almost depopulated the city. Those who were not victims of the disorder which gained rapidly, had fled the town. Even physicians left, and had it not been for the heroism and strong hands of a small group of men here chaos would have reigned.

Mayor Clarkson stayed at his post manfully and presided daily over the meetings of the Citizen's Committee of Safety. Mathew Carey was a member, and he never missed a meeting which was held in the Mayor's office at Fifth and Chestnut streets every day at noon. In addition to using every effort to assist in restoring order and confidence, Carey also printed a history of the epidemic, which ran through five editions within a few weeks, and it remains the best account we have of this period.

Another member of this Committee of Safety played an even more heroic part, and as he in 1791 had his shop on Market street, between Third and Fourth, we may stop a moment to consider him. This was Peter Helm, a cedar cooper, whom Carey describes as a "plain German," who lived at 127 Market street, now 309. In 1793 he lived at 30 North Front street where he was a neighbor of Stephen Girard.

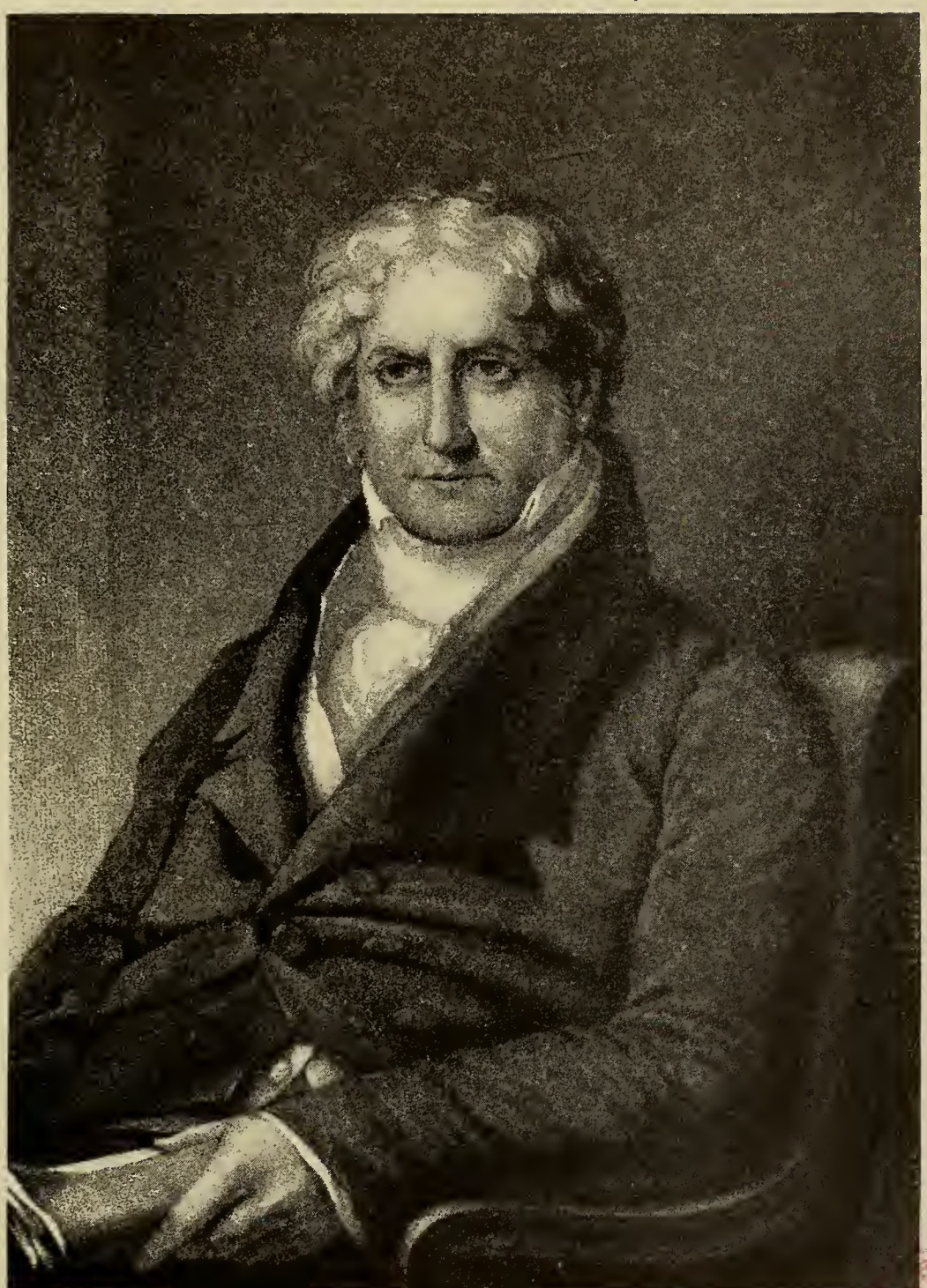
To these foreigners, Girard, who came from France, and from Helm, who was a German, the city may be said to have virtually owed its deliverance. The city hospital was in disorder, every patient who was taken there died, usually before twenty-four hours. There was urgent need for a capable superintendent, and Girard and Helm both volunteered. Girard, indeed, did the most menial and repulsive work at the hospital, and Helm attended to the general care and the outside work of the place. And both positions were places of gravest danger from the dread disease. Fortunately, neither succumbed, and neither relinquished his position until all danger had disappeared. And it is

mainly through Carey's history of the epidemic that posterity has known of the heroism of these citizens.

In a previous chapter mention was made of Colonel Thomas Forrest, who in 1791 lived on the north side of High street next to the east corner. This house in 1785 had been the home of Judge Jared Ingersoll, who was Attorney General of Pennsylvania in 1791, and who at that time had moved to Chestnut street between Fifth and Sixth streets. Ingersoll had come from New England, but his name is better known here than elsewhere, for he was the preceptor of Horace Binney, who has mentioned him as "the most efficient manager of an important jury trial among all of the able men who were then at the bar of Philadelphia." He was the father of Congressman Charles J. Ingersoll, who also became a prominent figure as a lawyer, orator and author in Philadelphia. The same building was occupied, in 1801, by Jesse Sharpless as a dry goods store, the forerunner of establishments well known to Philadelphians of the last few generations. In 1801 the dry goods business had not yet established itself in Second street, but was seen at its best and most progressive side on High, or Market street. Later in the last century the dry goods business took possession of Second street, and it was not until after the Civil War that Eighth street became the shopping street. The last quarter century has seen change again and once more Market street is the shopping district.

During the Revolution the Philadelphia Library, which had its collection in Carpenter's Hall, was not the public institution it since has become. In the early part of the year 1777 the librarian, Francis Daymon, lived "on the south side of Market street, four doors below Fourth." At that time the approved and only way to get out a book was to visit the librarian "between the hours of 5 and 7 in the afternoon and leaving a signed note for such books as they respectively want." But there was an unusual reason for all this red tape. The notice which appeared in the *Gazette, Packet* and *Evening Post,* explains: "The lower part of the Library being at present used as an infirmary for sick soldiery, renders it inconvenient for the librarian to attend at the library room as usual."

Francis Daymon's house was on the site of the present 332 Market street, and the building, or the site, has historic significance for another reason, for it was here that in 1798 the first copies of "Hail, Columbia," were issued by Benjamin Carr in his Musical Repository. This edition, which bears a crude portrait of President Adams and is entitled simply "A Patriotic Song" was known principally by report until a copy was sold at Stan. V. Henkels' auction several years ago. Carr appears to have shared the premises with John Phile, who is set down in the directory for 1795 as "shopkeeper;" but as the music of "Hail, Columbia" is "The President's March," by Philip Phile, a musician



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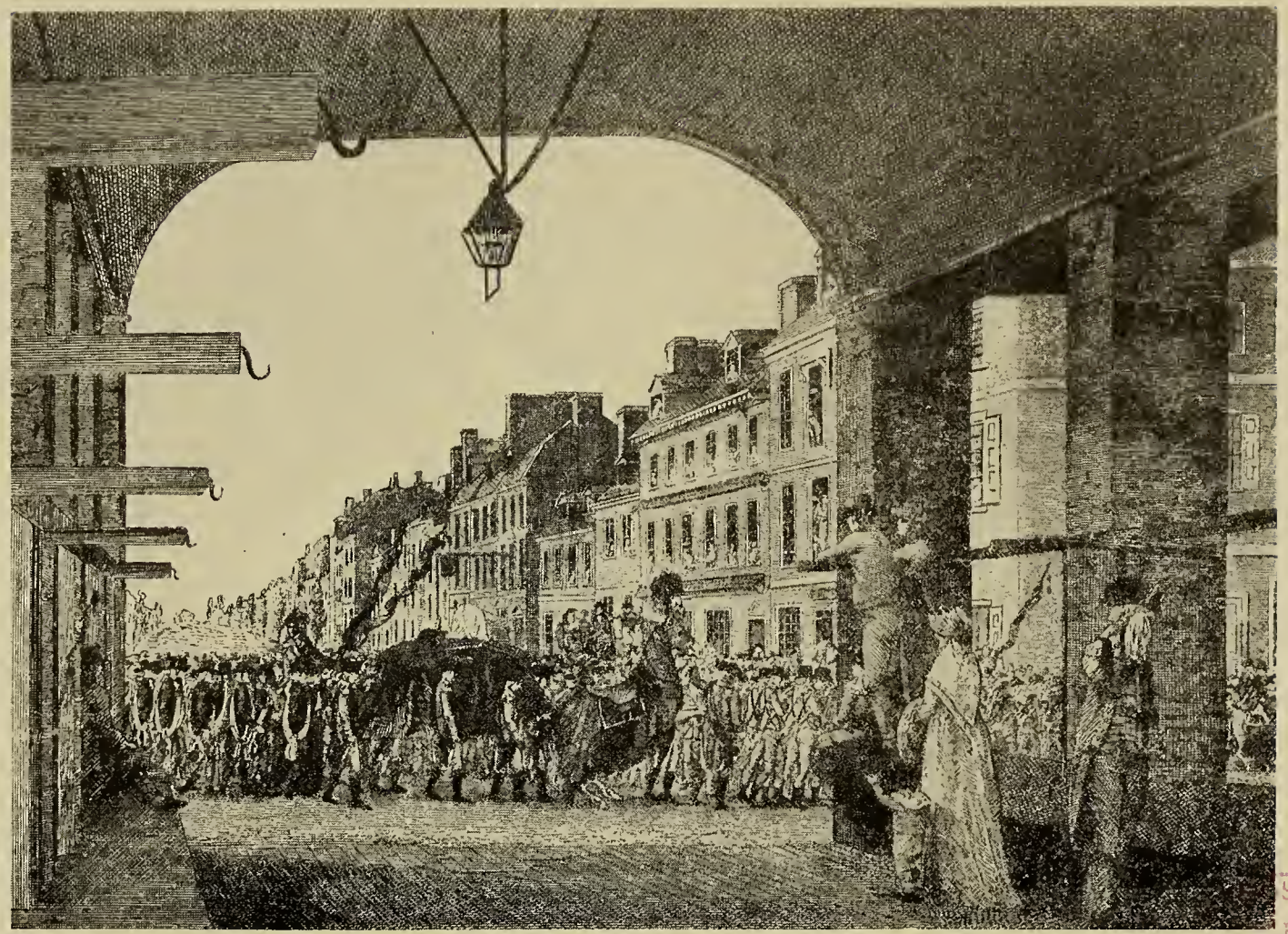
BENJAMIN CARR
First Publisher of "Hail Columbia"



MOCK FUNERAL OF WASHINGTON PASSING UP FOURTH STREET, 1799

The signboard of the Black Horse Inn is seen in the middle distance. At this time this point was the western limit of the market.

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who led the orchestra at the Southwark Theatre, it is a not unreasonable suggestion that these two men may have been related. Philip Phile was a victim of the yellow fever epidemic in 1793, and he was buried in the German Calvinist Cemetery, which was in the northwest corner of Franklin Square.

Mathew Carey a few years after Carr and Phile left this place took the building then numbered 122, and remained there until he removed, about 1815, to Chestnut street.

We are now at Fourth street, and there is an engraving by Birch of a historic event connected with this locality. This was the mock funeral of Washington in December, 1779. In Birch's view we do not obtain much more than a glimpse of the catafalque, followed by a riderless horse and a few of the MacPherson Blues, marching up Fourth street to Zion Church, where the funeral oration was pronounced by General Richard Henry Lee. The view, however, gives an idea of the interior of the old market sheds, which in 1799 stopped at Fourth street.

We should not leave this end of the old market without mentioning a famous eating stand which in the middle of the last century was at this end of the market. This place was known as "The Red Curtain," from its flaming shade which concealed it from the street. It was one of the first popular market eating stands in the city, and from it the fame of more recent stands arose. In the 50's there was published a little pamphlet about this "Red Curtain," but this now is quite scarce.

At the northeast corner of Fourth and Market streets, in 1801, Laurence Seckel, a wine merchant, lived. His father, and subsequently himself, owned a large farm in "The Neck," which is known to fame for two reasons. First it contained a pear tree of unknown origin, which under cultivation produced the fruit long named in honor of its cultivator, the Seckel pear. Second, he sold his farm to Stephen Girard, who took the deepest interest in the place, made it a profitable venture, and finally willed it to the City of Philadelphia along with his other property, to be held in trust for the support of his college for orphan boys.

CHAPTER IX

FOURTH AND MARKET STREETS—PUBLISHERS AND BOOKSELLERS—A FEW OLD INNS—REBECCA GRATZ—DR. CASPAR WISTAR

After the Revolution steps were taken by the city Government to obtain authority to extend the market sheds on Market street. We already have learned how the residents of Market street effectively fought the efforts to extend the sheds from Third to Fourth streets before the Revolution, but in 1786 the Assembly gave the wardens of the city property the power to extend the market sheds and the act which gave the authority states that "custom and long usage have fixed High street as the most eligible and central place for the market-place to be continued."

Acting under this law the city authorities in 1810 put up an extension of the sheds from Fourth street to Sixth, and there was no opposition to the plan.

At the southeast corner of Fourth and Market streets, as we mentioned in a previous chapter, the Indian Queen tavern was an important house in the middle of the eighteenth century. About 1790 the Market street building of the inn appears to have been pulled down or remodeled, but the stables and yard were standing until about the middle of the last century. About the same time the inn was rebuilt on Fourth street below market, and the yard and stables continued to be used.

The only logical reason for this change that presents itself in the absence of any absolute facts on the subject is that the High or Market street front became too valuable as the thoroughfare became built up and the inn retired into the background. Both the Market street and the Fourth street structures have considerable historical interest, and for very different reasons.

On the map of Philadelphia published in 1762 the Indian Queen and the stables back of it are plainly distinguished, although not named. Even at that time it appears to have been a rather popular hotel, but probably had not been open many years. Alexander Graydon, in his memoirs, mentions the inn as a place where in the racing season there usually were a number of thoroughbreds stabled, and the inn was the meeting place for their owners. He describes his favorite strolls as a boy in 1760 or 1761, and says that after peeping into Israel Pemberton's garden, which was on the site of the Girard National Bank, on South Third street, he then continued on his way to the inn yard

MARKET STREET, NORTH SIDE, FOURTH TO FIFTH, 1859

MARKET STREET, SOUTH SIDE, FOURTH TO FIFTH, 1859

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of the Indian Queen. "Turning Chestnut street corner to the left," he wrote, "and passing a row of dingy two-story houses, I came to the whalebones, which gave name to the alley at the corner of which they stood. These never ceased to be occasionally an object of some curiosity, and might be called my second stage, beyond which there was but one more general object of attention, and this was to get a peep at the race horses which in sporting seasons were kept in the Widow Nichols' stables, which from her house (the Indian Queen, at the corner of Market street) extended perhaps two-thirds or more of the way to Chestnut street."

Although the early horse races were run straight out Race street, which received its name from this circumstance, at the time of which Graydon wrote, the races were held on a round track at Centre Square, the site of the present City Hall. Watson relates that in those days all admired racers were pacers, and that trotters were regarded as a base breed, and states that after the Revolution no more races were held at Broad and Market streets.

John Nicholson appears to have been the proprietor of the Indian Queen in 1767, and in 1791 we find a Widow Nichols, "innkeeper," on Market street, a few doors west of Fourth, on the south side, keeping the Conestoga Wagon. In 1785 the old Indian Queen was tenanted by Francis Lee, and from his place the New York stage set out each morning at 4 o'clock. The two directories that were published in 1785 do not agree either upon the location of the Indian Queen or of the residence of its proprietor. Macpherson's assigns him to 283 High street, which would have brought it on the north side of the street and next to the northwest corner of Fourth. White's directory locates both Lee and the Indian Queen at the corner of Fourth and High streets, and this appears, from all that can be learned, to be its location at that time.

From Graydon's description of the property and from its indication on the map of 1762, it may be imagined that this was a very extensive establishment for the time. About 1790 the old place at the corner seems to have been removed and a new building erected on Fourth street. The stables, as has been mentioned, were not removed until 1851.

From 1790 down to the middle of the last century there was a hotel on this site; indeed, the building at present numbered 27 to 31 South Fourth street bears many evidences of being the structure erected about 1790, although somewhat altered. But about this time there was another house beside the Indian Queen that has been confused with the latter. This was Francis' Hotel. That they bore some relation to each other is shown by the fact that Francis' house stood between the Indian Queen and the office of the New York stage. In 1791 the Indian Queen was tenanted by James Thompson, and his number was 15 South

Fourth street. In 1793 Thompson was still proprietor of the inn, but at 13 John Francis had his boarding house, and in 1795, at 9, John Vanarsdalen, the clerk of the Baltimore and New York stage, had his office and Francis' house bore the numbers 11 and 13, while the Indian Queen still figured at 15.

After the Federal Government offices were removed from this city to Washington in 1800, Francis, finding the "President's House," on Market street near Sixth, was vacant, leased it and the following year opened it as Francis' Union Hotel. He remained there until 1804, and then he went back to Fourth street and occupied the premises 13 and 15 as a hotel until 1807. In the interval when Francis was on Market street the Indian Queen was managed by James Coyles, and in the 20's Thomas Heiskell was the proprietor. Aaron Clements had the house from 1828 to 1832, and during that period the First City Troop made it its headquarters, and when Clements removed to Second and Chestnut streets the troop followed him. In 1834 the Indian Queen, still numbered 15, was managed by Bernard Duke; in 1842 David Miller had it, and in 1850 the proprietor was J. C. Maxwell. Later in the 50's Horatio Wade's name was found on the tall sign board which contained a picture of an Indian princess, the handiwork of Woodside. In this first decade of the second half of the last century the inn seems to have been abandoned, and the stables in the rear were removed and the ground improved.

It was Francis' house that was a favorite stopping place for members of Congress while that body sat in this city, and it was there that John Adams was stopping while Vice-President of the United States, and from its doors he left that morning in March, 1797, to be driven to the Congress Hall to take the oath as second President of the United States. In a little book containing the diary of Thomas Twining, a young Englishman who made a visit to this country in 1796, we are given a delightful picture of Francis' hotel and of its society in the year 1796. Twining describes Francis as a Frenchman, who has lost the politeness of his country, for when he sought board and lodgings there he was informed by Francis, whom he said was an old man, that his house was "not a public tavern, but a private house for the reception of members of Congress." He also added that his house at the time was full. His wife, whom Twining pictures as a tall, young, handsome American woman, reminded her uncouth better half that there was a small spare room that the traveler might have until the following day when there would be a room next to that occupied by Vice-President Adams, empty.

Twining was received, enjoyed the novel luxury of buckwheat cakes, whose fame had reached him even before he landed in Philadelphia, and was charmed with the official society he found in Francis' house.

INDIAN QUEEN HOTEL
The second building of that name. 15 South Fourth street

HIESKELL's HOTEL,
Sign of the Indian Queen,
No. 15 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia,

1825 Mr. Wm Norris Dr.

March 12	To 3 days Board	3	75
	" Wine & Sundries, a/c	1	81¼
		5	56¼
	Rec'd Payment		
	Wm Hieskell		
	Mr Norris		
	3 days Board	3	75
		$9	31¼

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A GUEST BILL AT THE INDIAN QUEEN

MERCHANTS' BUILDING, 40 TO 48 NORTH FOURTH STREET

Built in 1837 as the Washington Hotel, became noted as the Merchants' Hotel and was the scene of many political gatherings. President Van Buren was feted here and Franklin Pierce stopped here on his way to be inaugurated.

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As he is one of the few English travelers who visited the country when the nation was still in swaddling clothes, who found something pleasant to say of it and its people, and who was willing to make allowances for most things except the cruel stage coaches he had to ride in, his narrative is very pleasant reading. He describes Vice-President Adams at Francis', being always seated at the head of the table, except in the mornings, when he had breakfast in his room. Mr. Adams was accompanied by a man servant, and the young traveler found the Vice-President an agreeable man. "Mr. Adams," he says, "took the chair always reserved for him at the head of the table, though himself superior to all sense of superiority. He appeared to be about sixty years of age. In person he was rather stout and thick; in his manner somewhat cold and reserved, as the citizens of Massachusetts, his native state, are said generally to be. His presence caused a general feeling of respect, but the modesty of his demeanor and the tolerance of his opinions excluded all inconvenient restraint. He had the appearance rather of an English country gentleman who had seen little of the world, than of a statesman who had seen so much of public life."

After the inauguration of President Adams, Washington, the retiring chief executive, accompanied by Timothy Pickering, walked from Congress Hall down Chestnut street, with a crowd at their heels, and called at Francis' Hotel to pay his respects to the new President. Thomas Jefferson, while Vice-President, resided at Francis' house.

As we have strolled a hundred feet or so down Fourth street to gossip a little about the old Indian Queen Hotel, we might now go a short distance up Fourth street above Market to spend a few minutes with the history of another public house which in its time also was regarded as a hotel of importance. This was the Merchants' Hotel, 40 to 48 North Fourth street, which structure still stands, although now it is an office building and known as the Merchants' Building.

The Merchants' Hotel, at first known as the Washington Hotel, was erected about 1837, and at that time was not only the finest house of its kind in this city, but was regarded as unequaled in the country. It was then the last word in hotel luxury. It was furnished with soft carpets, stuffed furniture and heavy curtains, and was looked upon as a kind of palace hotel. As it was the largest house in the city, many banquets were given there. In 1839 President Van Buren, who was supposed to be "following in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor," Andrew Jackson, whose protégé he was, came to Philadelphia and was handsomely received. A historic banquet was given in his honor at the Merchants' Hotel, as it then was named, and which at that time was managed by Sanderson, and almost from the beginning was a political headquarters. On his way to Washington to be inaugurated President, in March, 1853, Franklin Pierce stopped at the Merchants' Hotel. He

there met Judge James Campbell whom he had selected as his Postmaster General, and was compelled to make a speech from the hotel balcony before an enthusiastic crowd of adherents would leave.

It was from the Merchants' Hotel that President Buchanan's presidential campaign was engineered, and here Buchanan occasionally stopped while in the city. Afterward, early in his political career, it was the occasional home of Samuel J. Randall, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and his political headquarters. The house was sold to Thomas P. Twibill in 1881, and about twenty years ago was remodeled into an office building. Horatio Wade, who at a later date was the proprietor of the Indian Queen, was the proprietor when the house was opened as the Washington Hotel in 1837. Caleb Cope, who was a silk merchant at 409 Market street at the time, was one of the projectors of the hotel.

At the southwest corner of Fourth and Market streets there stood until 1896, when the property was removed to widen Fourth street so that the façade of the new Bourse could be seen to advantage from Market street, a building in which John Wanamaker received his inception into the clothing business. The house at that time, when Mr. Wanamaker was about fourteen years of age, bore the sign of Lippincott, Taylor & Co. The firm operated three stores—one in Philadelphia, one in Pottsville and one in St. Clair, Pa. Barclay Lippincott managed the one in Philadelphia and Edward T. Taylor the two outside of the city. Edward T. Taylor, in later years, was appointed Inspector-General of the United States Schuylkill Arsenal, and served in that position until retired by reason of old age. He died December 11, 1897, at the age of eighty-two years, in Blawenburg, Somerset County, N. J. He was buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. Mr. Wanamaker did, indeed, put in a short time in a book store as a boy, at a weekly salary of $1.50. But in Lippincott, Taylor & Co's store he received his first training in a business in which he subsequently became famous. As a small boy he at times done some trifling work in his father's brickyard in the Neck. But when he was thirteen his father got the notion that he would like to try his luck in the Middle West, and he gathered together his family and took them all to his father's place, about forty miles from Fort Wayne. A short stay there convinced the elder Wanamaker that he would be better off back in Philadelphia, so, to the joy of the family, who did not enjoy the rough life in the more or less wild country, they returned the next year.

Mr. Wanamaker's father died in 1851, and his son then regularly went to work, at first in a book store for a short time and then with Barclay Lippincott. After staying there for a brief period he worked with the late Colonel Joseph M. Bennett at his "Tower Hall."

In 1785 "the Widow Wistar," as the directory of that year de-

MARKET STREET, SOUTH SIDE, WEST FROM FOURTH, ABOUT 1868

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In the corner store, John Wanamaker received his first training as a clothing salesman. The building was removed when Fourth street was widened to set off the façade of the Bourse Building. In the building 410, many of the Early street railway mergers were arranged.

scribes the relict of the first Caspar Wistar, dwelt in the tenth house west of Fourth on the south side of Market street. She was the mother of Dr. Caspar Wistar. Her maiden name was Catharine Jansen, and she was born in 1703. She died in 1786 in the house on Market street.

In the early days a branch of Dock creek crossed Market street at or just above Fourth street. Watson quotes several persons, descendants of first settlers, to the effect that there was a large pond at the intersection of these streets in the beginning of the city. Later there was an arch built across High or Market street to carry the water, and the street level in that vicinity at that time was somewhat lower than it is at the present time. One person quoted by Watson avers that in his young days, about the close of the seventeenth century, he frequently shot wild ducks and wild geese, usually to be found gathered near the pond at Fourth and Market streets. This arm of Dock creek which crossed Market street extended considerably further northwest. When the tide was running up in the early days small fish were caught in the stream at Fourth and Market streets, and a pond just north of this intersection was a favorite skating place in the winter, even up to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Until about 1725 this quarter of the city was not very well attended to by the City Fathers. The crossing at Fourth and Market streets usually was in a state of neglect. In wet weather venturesome pedestrians discovered that the water in Market street was waist deep; the gutters or water courses, as they were called, were decayed and only those whose business compelled them to cross Fourth street going west undertook the hazardous step.

It was in the inn which had for its sign, The Conestoga Wagon, on the site of the present 410 Market street, that Major-General Charles Lee, a Revolutionary officer, who was dismissed from the American Army for his conduct at the Battle of Monmouth, died in 1782. He was a broken and a ruined man, with suspicion of treason hovering over him, and in his last illness he was attended by Colonel Eleazar Oswald, who had served under him. The building which more recently stood on this site might be regarded as of local historical interest, for in one of the rear offices on the first floor were arranged those early street railway mergers, which led to the development of such transit system as we have in Philadelphia today. At the time these mergers were planned, between 1876 and 1892, the building was owned and occupied by Sullivan & Brother, a hosiery concern. The two brothers, Jeremiah J. and James F. started in business at 112 and 114 North Fourth street, in 1866, and two years later joined the jobbing centre in Market street, at number 236. In 1868 the building was occupied by gunsmiths, J. C. Grubb & Co., and the dissolution of the firm gave the Sullivans an opportunity to get on Market street. James Sullivan had learned the business on that thoroughfare in the house of Field Brothers, at 218. The senior

member of that firm was John Field, afterward Postmaster of Philadelphia. After the Sullivans sold the building at 410 in 1892, they purchased the property at 629 from Biddle Cope, who was described in the deed as a Marquis, although he had taken the property as plain Biddle Cope. It appears that Mr. Cope for years lived in Italy; where, entering the Catholic Church as a member, he was granted a patent of nobility from the Pope.

Before we continue on our way out Market street we should take a glance at a romance in book publishing and bookselling which concerns the vicinity of Fourth and Market streets.

In the book trade years ago the name of John Grigg was one of those best known throughout the United States. To the local booksellers it was a name to conjure with. The lads who entered the bookstores as errand boys heard of the great success of Grigg, and his career was held out to them as an example of what attention, good judgment and thrift would do. Yet the name is now almost unknown to the average reader. The store in which Grigg began his career as a bookseller in this city had a long history before he came to Philadelphia, and even was established before Grigg was born. At what then was number 147 Market street, the fourth building on the north side of the street below Fourth, was the firm of Jacob Johnson & Co. The company appears to have been Benjamin Johnson and a man named James. The Johnsons printed there before 1791, for we find the name in the directory for that year, but it does not appear in the directories for 1785. They printed books and did a general business to which they also added book selling, as, indeed, the majority of the printers in that day did. While the Johnsons did not do so large a trade as to make them distinguished they were well established and favorably known.

They were succeeded early in the last century by Benjamin Warner, who continued in business there for many years. Warner was a progressive bookseller, and did a large business in educational works. But the romance mentioned has little to do with the Johnsons, and only incidentally with Warner. About 1816 Warner took into his store John Grigg, who soon made the business even greater than it had been. He found there as fellow clerks several other young men who also became distinguished in Philadelphia. One of these was Judge John Bouvier, author of several legal works of importance; Uriah Hunt, afterwards an eminent bookseller and publisher, and John B. Ellison.

At that time John Grigg was a man twenty-four years of age. He was a native of Cornwall, England, where he was orphaned at an early age. His people appear to have been farmers, and John received his first impressions of the world from the fields of Cornwall. He abandoned farm life as soon as he could, and went to sea. That was the usual method of lads in those days, especially of English boys, who

JOHN GRIGG
Bookseller and banker

REBECCA GRATZ
Original of Rebecca in Scott's "Ivanhoe"

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sought their fortune in the wider world. He made several voyages across the Atlantic; he had some experiences in the Bay of Biscay and in the West Indies, and about 1810 he gave up seafaring and went to Richmond, Virginia.

There is not a great deal known of his Virginia experiences, but it is understood that he was given advantages for study during the thirteen months he stayed there, and he made good use of the opportunity. He then migrated to Ohio, where he managed, by his brightness, steady habits and zeal to become a clerk in the Court of Common Pleas in Warren County. This office was no sinecure, for it is said that for weeks at a time he was compelled to write from fifteen to eighteen hours a day. This strain and hard work began to tell upon his constitution, and he was forced to seek a change. He found it in a newly established woolen mill in Kentucky, of which he was made superintendent. Once more his "uncommon industry, activity and efficiency in business" won the confidence of his employer. But young Grigg was impatient for larger fields. He felt that he must find his place in a large city, so he came to Philadelphia in 1816. He came here with little means, but with an abundance of self-reliance and confidence. He was almost tempted to return to Kentucky, when fate threw him into the way of Benjamin Warner.

When he entered Warner's shop Mr. Grigg knew nothing, or next to nothing, of the book business. Realizing this defect he did what probably no clerk in the shop ever did before—he set to work to memorize the name of every book for sale in the shop. In a short time he had mastered this important work, and with it, of course, the price of each book and the place where it could be found in stock. His avidity to learn and his ambition to succeed soon excited the jealousy of his fellow clerks. His employer discovered this, and, in order to allay the jealousy, he sent Mr. Grigg to Virginia to settle the affairs of a bookseller there, who had a connection with Warner's house. This business he performed satisfactorily, and when a few years later Warner felt that the end was near he attached a note to his will to the effect that he believed one or two young men in his employ might be charged with continuing his business after his death. He mentioned Mr. Grigg as "possessing a peculiar talent for the bookselling business," and added that he was "very industrious, and from three years' observation he had found nothing in his conduct to raise a doubt in his mind of his possessing correct principles."

After Mr. Warner's death, his executors confided in young Grigg. The house had agencies through the South and West, and it was necessary to adjust the business with each of them, but Mr. Grigg set to work and managed the affairs successfully, so that he had wound up the business within a few years. He then found himself without occupation. He

sought a friend's advice, who told him to rely upon himself. The following day he rented a store at 9 North Fourth street, and began business on his own account.

There is no need to follow Grigg through the changes in the firm, or until it finally became known as the J. B. Lippincott Company, but it should be told that he caused a revolution in the book business in this country. He was a far-seeing man of business, and it is said that he was accustomed to look ahead before going ahead. An instance of his judgment was shown in the fact that he weathered the panicky days of 1836 and 1837. He saw them coming and prepared for their arrival. He foresaw the dangers that threatened business in the issue between the United States and the Bank of the United States, and promptly changed his investments for real estate. His property lay not alone in Philadelphia, where he erected rows of houses, but in Mississippi and Illinois. He became identified with real estate and with the city's banking interests about the middle of the last century. He erected rows of what then were regarded as modern dwellings, and having retired from the book trade, became a private banker. Having amassed considerable wealth Mr. Grigg gave largely from his store in many forms of philanthropy, and his son, John Warner Grigg, who did not survive him many years, also left large bequests to charities. Mr. Grigg during his last years lived at 1022 Arch street. He died in 1864, and his son died in 1869 at the age of fifty years.

At the northwest corner of Fourth and Market streets in 1785 lived Michael Gratz, one of the forefathers of the present family of that name. Like the Kister brothers, earlier in the eighteenth century, the Gratz brothers, Barnard and Michael, came to this country from Germany and as merchants became both wealthy and powerful.

Barnard, the elder of the brothers, both of whom were born in Langendorf, Upper Silesia, Germany, was the first to arrive. He came here in 1754, when he was only sixteen years of age. Michael, who was born in 1740, came out in 1759, after having traveled somewhat through Europe. Both of the brothers seem to have at first gone to Lancaster, where they traded with the Indians, and were in position to receive some large grants of public lands. However, both of the brothers were in Philadelphia in 1769 and in business together at Fourth and Market streets. Both of the brothers were identified with the movment among the Jews in Philadelphia, then few in number, that resulted in the establishment of the first Jewish synagogue in this city, perhaps in the country. Barnard was the president of the congregation which erected its first house of worship in Cherry street. Michael Gratz also was very prominent in the work and his name is found in the memorial inviting the President and the Executive Council of Pennsylvania to attend the consecration of the synagogue in Cherry street,

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and both Barnard and Michael Gratz signed the non-importation resolutions in 1765.

But here we are more interested in Michael Gratz than his elder brother, for it was Michael who was the father of Rebecca Gratz, who in her early days was one of the beauties of Philadelphia, and until the end of her life was a woman of social importance in this city. It probably is the connection of Rebecca Gratz with Scott's novel "Ivanhoe" that has caused her name to be best recalled to readers. There does not seem to be any doubt that the tradition that has been revealed over and over again is true. It is said that through her friend, Miss Hoffman, Washington Irving became acquainted with Rebecca Gratz, and that on one of his visits to Sir Walter Scott he described her beauty, her unusual mental attainments and her beautiful character to the novelist. Scott is said to have announced to Irving that he would introduce a Jewish character in his next novel, and when "Ivanhoe" appeared in 1819, it was found that there was a fine type of Jewish maiden among its characters and her name was Rebecca. It is said that Scott sent a copy of his book to Irving with a note asking: "How do you like your Rebecca? Does the Rebecca I have pictured compare with the pattern given?"

Rebecca Gratz was born while her father dwelt at Fourth and Market streets, in 1781. There was no directory between 1785 and 1791, and consequently it cannot be easily determined when Michael Gratz left Fourth and Market streets and with his brother Barnard, went to live at 107 (old number) Race street. But he is set down in 1791 as residing at that place. Michael Gratz, who died in 1811, left a son, Simon Gratz, who also was a prominent man of affairs in Philadelphia. Simon Gratz was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and was identified with the intellectual side of the city's life as well as with its business affairs.

You still may see a rather narrow alley running north from Market street west of Fourth, just where the present 415 stands. A signboard lets you know that it is Paradise alley, but that conveys little information to the seeker. The alley, unnamed, will be found on maps as far back as that of 1762, and it seems to have at one time been a side entrance to the Black Horse Inn that in 1767 was at the west corner of the alley and Market street. In 1767 the inn was kept by William Graham, and probably he would have been unknown to history had it not been that he seems to have given shelter to the old printer, Samuel Dellap, when the latter was in a bad way, and was selling books at auction in the rear of the inn. Dellap died there of yellow fever in 1793. The inn stood there until about the beginning of the last century; indeed, its signboard is shown in the picture by Birch illustrating the Washington funeral in 1799.

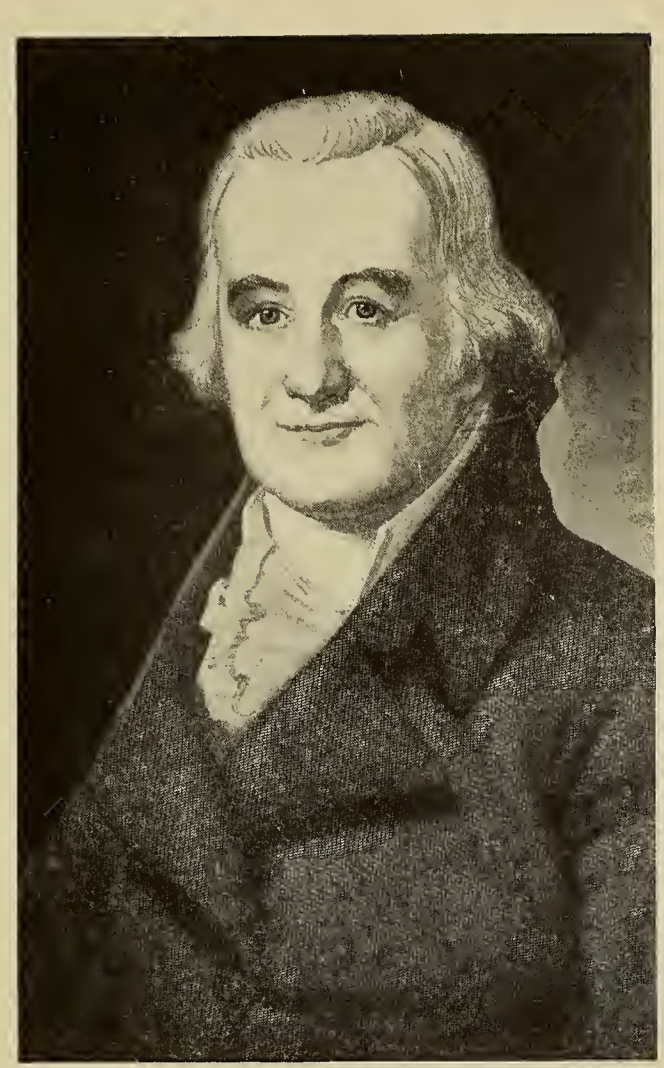
The alley until about twenty years ago bore the name of Leithgow street. In 1785, and until the early years of the last century, John Knorr had his cooperage in the rear of the building on the west side of the alley, and the alley doubtless was the only entrance to his shop.

On the south side of Market street, on the site of the present 404, stood, in 1791, the residence of Dr. Caspar Wistar, who, unfortunately for his fame as a scientist, was celebrated for his entertainments, and the mention of his name does not immediately call to mind the great labors of an early and learned anatomist, but the founder of the Wistar Parties. Of course, Dr. Wistar never founded the Wistar Party. That institution was founded after his death as a kind of continuance of his famed evenings at home.

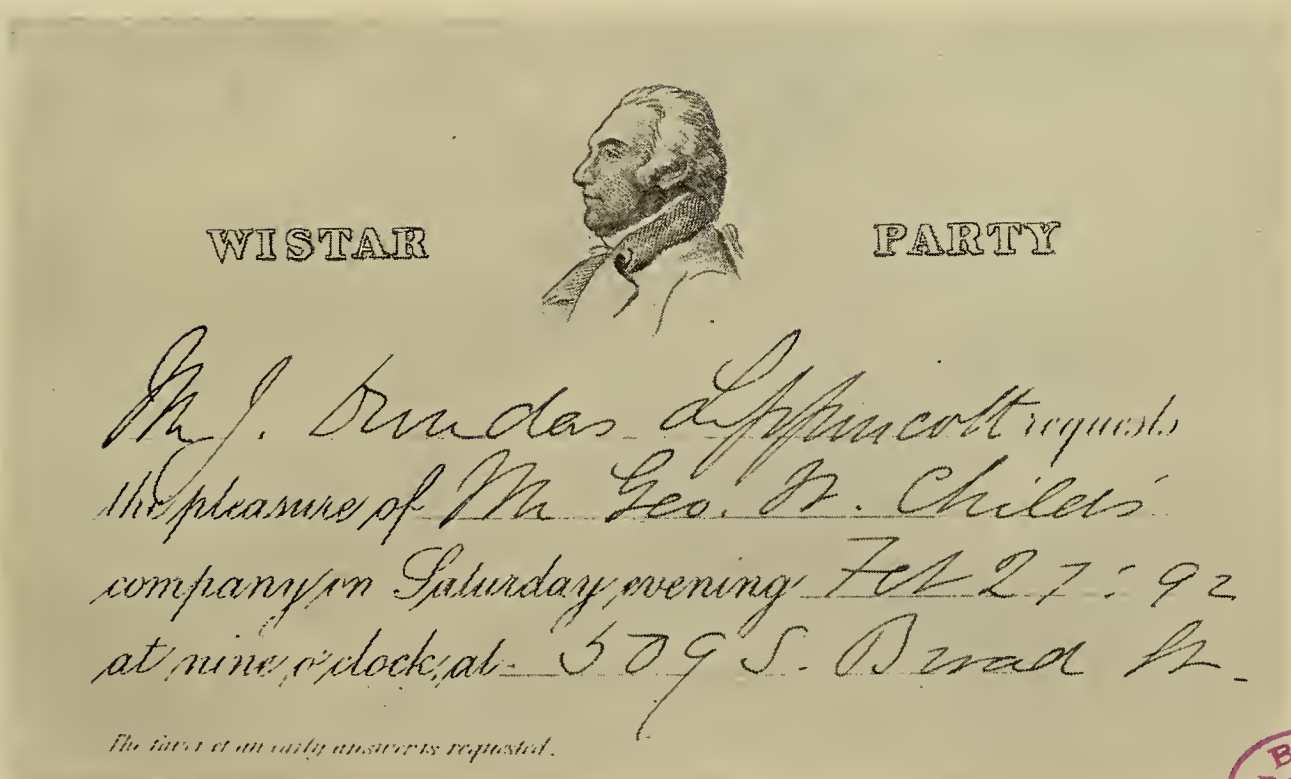
Dr. Wistar was one of the early graduates of the Medical School of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, and even before his studies there he had had some severe training as a volunteer in attending the wounded at the Battle of Germantown. After his graduation here in 1782 Dr. Wistar went to Edinburgh, where in 1786 he received his doctorate, and where he became president of the Royal Society of Medicine of Edinburgh. He returned to his native city in 1787 and began the practice of his profession on Market street. He soon became connected with the Medical School of the College of Philadelphia and with the Philadelphia Dispensary and later with the Pennsylvania Hospital. After the death of Dr. William Shippen, Jr., in 1808, Dr. Wistar, who had been his associate, was made Professor of Anatomy of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania.

As one of the leading physicians in Philadelphia and as a professor in its medical school, Dr. Wistar was a personage. It was no more than usual for savants from other countries visiting Philadelphia in those days to be invited to Dr. Wistar's house, where it was certain they would meet some of the most intellectual men to be found in the city at the time. The evenings, which have been perpetuated in the more modern Wistar Parties, were always held on Saturday, and seem to have been inaugurated after Dr. Wistar had left Market street and went to live at the southwest corner of Fourth and Locust streets, in the building still standing there.

The fame of the Saturday evenings at Dr. Wistar's house spread. It was known that his house had become the centre of the literary and scientific society in Philadelphia, yet the doctor had designed his evenings to be frugal entertainments. They were begun with the simple intention of gathering his friends, principally members of the Philosophical Society, around his board, once a week. Started as informal reunions, they became in time subject to customs and regulation. As Dr. Wistar's idea was principally that the entertainments should be intellectual rather than convivial, the refreshments were of the simplest



DR. CASPAR WISTAR


WISTAR
PARTY
Mr. J. Dundas Lippincott requests
the pleasure of Mr. Geo. H. Childs'
company on Saturday evening Feb 27: 92
at nine o'clock, at 509 S. Broad St.
The favor of an early answer is requested.

INVITATION CARD OF THE REVIVED WISTAR PARTY

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character. Tea, coffee, ice cream, raisins and almonds, seem to have formed the fare.

But then the happy possessor of an invitation knew that he would probably meet with a distinguished foreign visitor, or of some equally prominent American from another city. Few declined the invitation, and it soon became a distinguishing honor to be invited. Von Humboldt was once a guest, as was also the Abbe Correa, and, of course, all the noted physicians and legal dignitaries, such as Justices and Chief Justices of our courts, in those days, at one time or other had a delightful evening at Dr. Wistar's house. Dr. Wistar for a time before his death was president of the Philosophical Society, and when after his demise his friends who had met at his house so frequently on Saturday nights decided that the custom was too good to pass away, they formed a little organization, limited to members of the Philosophical Society.

If anything, the Wistar parties, given after Dr. Wistar's death by those who continued his idea, have become more famed than the originals. At the same time, they have been made the object of some good-natured jibes. While James Gordon Bennett, the founder of the *New York Herald,* was in Philadelphia associated in the management of the *Pennsylvanian* in the early 30's, he attacked the Wistarians, as they were called. In those days Bennett was trying to do in Philadelphia what he had failed to achieve in New York—receive recognition from the political powers. He does not appear to have had any notion of staying here, but believed that he could force matters by causing trouble in a new direction. At any rate, the Wistarians always believed that they had forced Bennett to leave Philadelphia, because after the attacks on their famed institution they withdrew their subscriptions to the *Pennsylvanian.*

Doctor Wistar died in 1818 and the Wistar Parties seem to have been instituted the same year or within a very few years. They continued until the breaking out of the Civil War, when party strife, as well as the unrest of the country, had something to do with their abandonment. The Wistar Party, however, was revived about 1886.

CHAPTER X

FOURTH STREET TO FIFTH, CONTINUED—COLONEL SHIPPEN ELIZA LESLIE—THOMAS SULLY

What was known as the western end of Market street after the Revolution, that is, the part that was being developed west of Fourth street, to about Ninth, had some notable residents. It is difficult to the stroller on Market street today who, by the way, will find strolling difficult in the hurrying crowds, to realize that people of fashion and persons of great wealth had their residences on that thoroughfare at one time. It is stranger to realize that at the same time Market street was of commercial importance, and that in 1785 next door to Colonel Joseph Shippen, brother of Edward Shippen, who later became Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, lived a tradesman, and that only three doors west of his house Samuel Nicholls kept a tavern, the Conestoga Wagon, while a few doors further on was a tobacconist, and another step westward a saddler had his shop, while Daniel Clymer, a lawyer, and George Reinholdt, a bookseller, were to be found in the same block on the south side of Market street, from Fourth street to Fifth.

Colonel Joseph Shippen lived in the house that stood on the site of the present 404 Market street, and that afterward was the home of Dr. Caspar Wistar. Colonel Shippen, who achieved some fame as a military commander in the French and Indian War, was a son of Edward Shippen, who was Mayor of Philadelphia in 1744, and went to live in Lancaster in 1752, where he acted as paymaster for supplies for the British and provincial forces when they were commanded by General Forbes, General Stanwix and Colonel Bouquet in the French and Indian War. Edward Shippen for some years was a partner of James Logan, who appears to have been responsible for his mercantile training.

After he was graduated at Nassau Hall, now Princeton University, in 1753, Colonel Shippen entered the Provincial Army and rose to the rank of Colonel. He served with General Forbes in the expedition which resulted in the capture of Fort Du Quesne, and after the troops were disbanded went to Europe, but returned in 1761. Soon after his return he was appointed Secretary to the Province, succeeding the Rev. Richard Peters, and in 1773 he removed to Kennett Square, Chester County. In the meantime he had married Jane Galloway, a sister of Joseph Galloway, the Tory, and for a long period was in poor health. This is given as the reason why Colonel Shippen did not serve in the

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COL. JOSEPH SHIPPEN

Secretary of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania

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ELIZA LESLIE

Poetess, editress and authoress of "Miss Leslie's Cook Book"

Continental forces during the Revolution. His absence from the army caused him to be regarded as a Loyalist.

From the period just before the Revolution until some time after it, Colonel Shippen resided at his country seat, Plumley, in Chester County. How long he resided at Fourth and Market streets is not known, but in 1789 we find him in Lancaster, where his father had resided for many years, a Judge of the Lancaster court. He died in 1810.

Colonel Shippen seems to have had some respectable literary attainments, for there is a lively bit of poetry, entitled "Lines Written in An Assembly Room," attributed to him, in which he describes some of the belles of his time, including the sister of Bishop White, afterward Mrs. Robert Morris, Polly Franks, Sally Coxe and Abby Willing. Colonel Shippen had six children, one of whom, Joseph Galloway Shippen, was a physician, and another, Henry, became a judge in Lancaster County. Of course, as brother to Edward Shippen, he was the uncle of the celebrated Peggy Shippen, whose life was wrecked by her marriage to the traitor, General Benedict Arnold.

In 1791 there were three inns on the south side of Market street, between Fourth and Fifth streets. One of these was at 410, the Conestoga Wagon, kept by Mary Nicholls; another at 432, kept by Nathaniel Brown, and one at 434, the Black Bear, kept by John Stein. The Black Horse was the only signboard hanging from an inn on the north side in this square, and that, in 1791, was kept by Alexander Clay.

On the north side of the street in 1785, on the site of the present 427, lived Colonel Thomas Forrest, whose remarkable career was reviewed in a former chapter. At 167, now 411, in 1791 Robert Leslie, the father of Charles Robert Leslie, the artist, mentioned in a former chapter, kept his watchmaking establishment. It was here that Leslie's almost equally noted daughter, Eliza, was born in 1787. A former generation, that which was brought up with *Godey's Lady's Book* for a parlor guide and mentor, will recall Eliza Leslie as one of the foremost women writers of her time in this country. Her first literary work was in poetry, and it was not until she was forty years of age that she began to apply herself to the writing of articles and stories. Her "Mrs. Washington Potts," a prize story that appeared in the pages of the old *Godey's* was the means of establishing her fame as a writer of short tales. For several years she edited the annual called *The Gift,* and was one of the earliest editors to recognize the genius of Edgar Allen Poe, several of whose tales were published in *The Gift.*

Eliza Leslie did not display any extraordinary artistic merit in her literary work, but it was quite equal, if not somewhat ahead, of the general run of sugary tales that then were printed for the edification of the young person. Miss Leslie's greatest success, however, was her "Cookery Book" which, after having run through nobody knows

how many editions, is still in some demand, and a copy of its first edition is now one of the scarcest works on the culinary art.

Eliza Leslie for a year was editress of her own magazine, *Miss Leslie's Magazine,* which is worthy of note from the fact that during its short career it introduced to the United States many new forms of pictorial reproductions, some of them of great cost and now unknown except to the few amateurs. It contained the first lithotint pictures produced in this country, and that as far back as 1843, when European lithographers were only experimenting with the process. Several other novelties in the way of illustrations were introduced, but the magazine in 1844 became *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine,* after a short but brilliant career.

While we are on the north side of Market street we might stroll out to Fifth, where, on the northwest corner, in 1791, Israel Whelen had his office and where he also lived at certain seasons of the year. His great mansion, however, was near Downingtown.

Israel Whelen was another of the members of the Society of Friends who, for the time at least, put aside the principles of that sect during the Revolution and gave his services gladly and generously to his country. Mr. Whelen, who was the progenitor of the present race of bankers of the name, was not one of those members of the Society of Friends who were called Fighting Quakers, although he was a soldier. He was ever careful of the principles of the Friends, but he refused to listen to those who would dissuade him from taking any part in the Revolution.

He had been brought up to commerce, was recognized as an authority on banking and finance generally, and known as a shipping merchant of large resources. The Continental Congress soon after the beginning of the struggle appointed him commissioner and he signed the first issue of the Continental currency. He took a prominent part in the military operations, having entered the army under Washington to the consternation of many good, old, pious Friends. He was quick to assure them that he did not regard his action as being in any way opposed to his principles as a Friend, and in a historic letter to his wife at this time he wrote:

> Had I been fully convinced that it was wrong to resist lawless tyranny, bearing down all before it, I hope I should have had resolution enough to have stuck to my principles; but as that was not the case I can see no reason why I should be expected to follow any opinion that I was not convinced in my own mind was right.

In another place Mr. Whelen wrote to his wife:

> The real cause was in expectation to be serviceable to my friends and my country. If I can serve the latter faithfully it may yet be in my power to render some small service to the former.

Mr. Whelen became Commissary General of the Army and financial

agent of the Government, and with the return of peace he quietly returned to the Friends, and when he died in 1806, at the age of fifty-four, he was buried in the Friends' burial ground at Fourth and Arch streets.

Mr. Whelen was head of the Electoral College of Pennsylvania that cast the vote for John Adams for President; he was one of the directors of the First Bank of the United States, and the third president of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange. In 1793 Mr. Whelen removed from the corner of Fifth and Market streets to a house at 196 Market street, next to the corner of Sixth, and in 1795 we find Israel Whelen and Joseph Miller, merchants, occupying the northwest corner of Fourth and Market streets and the building next to it on Market street.

Another dweller in the square between Fourth and Fifth streets on Market, who is not well recalled today, was the Rev. Henry Helmuth, who was the pastor of the Lutheran congregations here for some time, but whose pamphlet on the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 entitles him to something more than mere mention.

The Rev. Mr. Helmuth, who for the greater part of his time in this city was the pastor of St. Michael's Lutheran Church, was one of the last of the pastors sent to this country from Halle, Germany, before the Revolution. Twelve in all were sent over here, all of them graduates of the University of Halle, and virtually all of them men of great capacity. Mr. Helmuth, after Dr. Muhlenberg went to Lancaster in 1779, succeeded him as pastor of St. Michael's, and then, for a time after the erection of Zion Church, Mr. Helmuth found himself with two churches on his hands. During a part of his residence in this city Mr. Helmuth was professor of German and Oriental languages in the University of Pennsylvania.

After the epidemic, which from figures of burials seems to have struck severely the German Lutheran congregation—Zion Church alone is said to have lost 625 members by the yellow fever—the Rev. Mr. Helmuth preached a scorching sermon, attributing the visitation of fever to the sinfulness of Philadelphia. The sermon was preached in German, but Tobias Hirt, having been deeply impressed by it, had it translated and printed early in 1794. It is the most remarkable pamphlet or publication evoked by the epidemic. It is probable that few Philadelphians had any idea that their city was so hopelessly sinful as was charged by the pastor of St. Michael's. He was particularly provoked by the fact that the bars had been let down to theatrical entertainments, and by the erection of the largest and finest theatre then on the continent.

> "It was Philadelphia," he said, "that did not rest until the performing of theatrical exhibitions was authorized by law. It was Philadelphia that refined so much on this species of vanity as to erect one of the largest houses upon the continent for theatrical exhibitions, and engaged actors at prodigious

> expense. It was Philadelphia that imported from luxurious Europe, the number of 70 or 80 actors and retainers of the stage, who actually arrived here exactly at the time when the fever raged with the utmost violence."

He also charges Philadelphia with having been a great Sabbath breaker.

> "Philadelphia," he continued, "was the place that seemed to strive to exceed all other places in the breaking of the Sabbath. It may be said with propriety that our Sundays and holy days were our most sinful days. Immediately at the break of day the rattling of the carriages began through all the streets. They hurried into the country with their families as early as possible, in order by no means to approach the Deity in public worship, along with other citizens and sincere Christians."

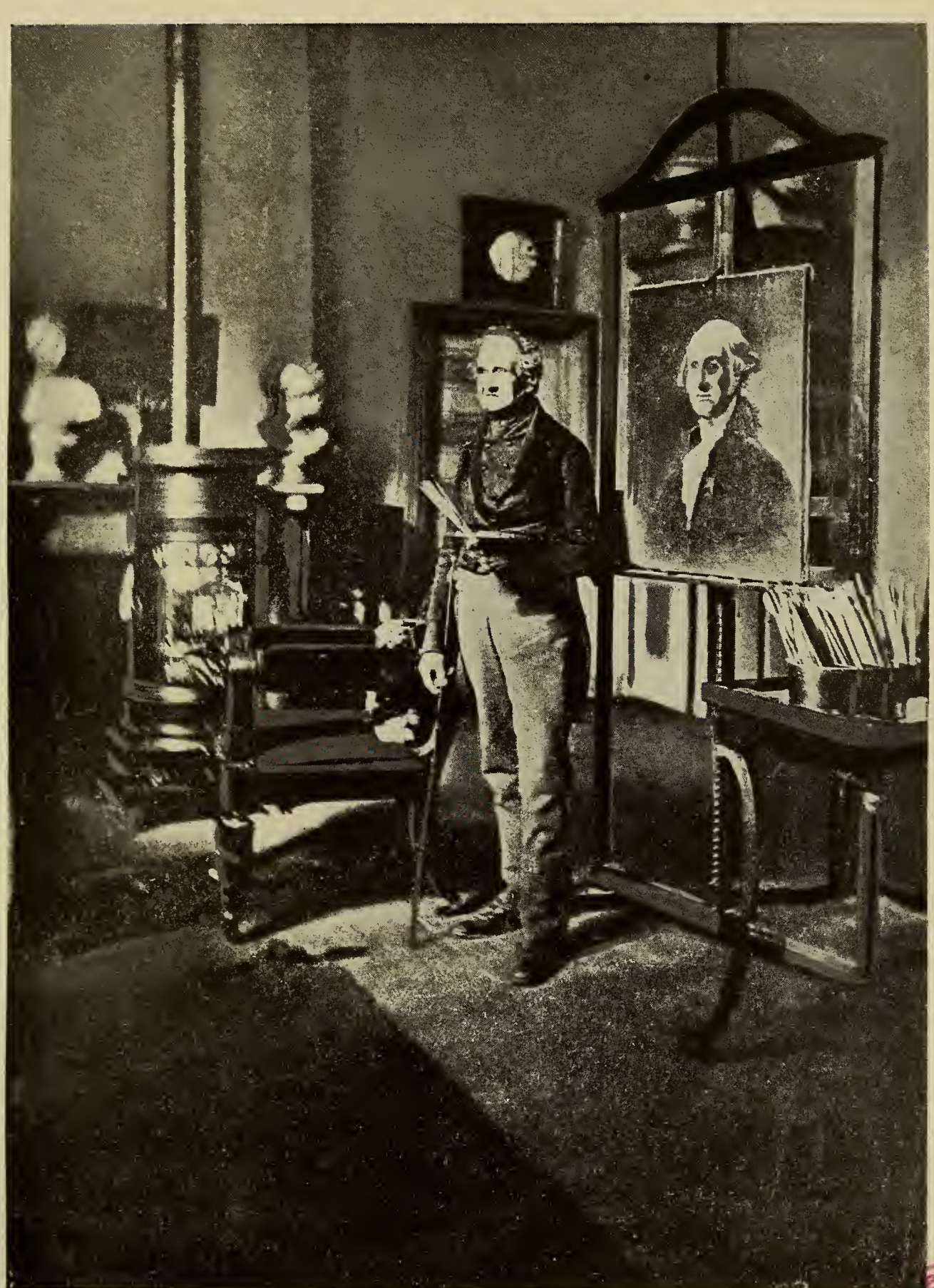
St. Michael's pastor was ready to answer those who asked why the victims in his congregation were so many compared with those of other congregations. His answer was that the disease affected the poor principally because they could not leave the city, and that his congregation was largely composed of poor persons. But he added that he had found that

> the number of those who attended divine service and sickened and died is proportionally small compared with the number of those who never, or at least very seldom, attend our meetings, and nevertheless, were buried with us. I never heard of a single one of whom it could be supposed with any degree of certainty that he had taken the disorder in church.

In the pavement in front of the Bourse Building, on Fifth street, there may be seen an inscription to the effect that that spot is the site of the Sparks Burial Ground of the Seventh-Day Baptists. Those persons who recall the old Eastern Market House on Fifth street below Market also will recall the small spot which always seemed to hide some mystery. It was inclosed by a high brick wall, and there seemed to be no entrance to it. This was all that was left of the original burial ground of the Seventh-Day Baptists, given by Richard Sparks in 1716.

Sparks was an early purchaser of lots in Philadelphia, and had the lot at the southeast corner of Fifth and Market streets. He was a member of the sect then popularly known as Sabbath-Keepers, or Seventh-Day Baptists, and falling seriously ill, and realizing that there was no burial ground belonging to that denomination, added a paragraph to his will, dated January 14, 1716, bequeathing 100 feet "of the back end of my lot on ye south side of ye High street, Philadelphia, for a burial place, for ye use of ye people or society called ye Seventh-Day Baptists forever." He also noted that in this ground he desired to be buried.

There is a long and involved history of the ground which we need not review now, especially as it has been rather exhaustively done by Dr. Julius F. Sachse in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*. By



THOMAS SULLY IN HIS FIFTH STREET STUDIO, ABOUT 1870

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degrees it appears the ground became a bone of contention between two congregations, one in this state and another in New Jersey. There were lessees holding leases from one or the other, and consequently a great deal of confusion. Thomas Simmonds, who resided in what was 11 South Fifth street, at what would be the corner of the present Ranstead street, erected several houses on that part of the lot about the beginning of the last century.

The Harmony Fire Company about 1811, evidently under the impression that the lot, or part of it, was unappropriated domain, erected a firehouse on the north end of the property, and later opened a door on the south side of their building, thus virtually appropriating the whole lot. Early in the 20's Stephen Girard bought the property south of the Sparks lot and forthwith attempted to get possession by purchase or lease of the remainder of the lot. By a piece of sharp practice Girard managed to get the Harmony Fire Company to depart upon payment of $400, and immediately he took possession of the whole burial ground. Only a small part of the ground had been used for interments, and it was this section of it that in recent times was seen to be protected by the high brick wall on Fifth street.

About 1830 Thomas Sully moved into the house formerly occupied by Thomas Simmonds, at 11 South Fifth street. Girard had the Sparks ground on the north side of Sully's house laid out in a garden for the painter. Later Ranstead street was cut through, and this separated the garden from Sully's house. In 1894, when Fifth street was widened, the old burial ground disappeared, for it was necessary to remove it for the improvement. At that time it was said that about twenty bodies were interred there.

The mention of Thomas Sully recalls the career of a portrait painter whose fame has increased since his own time. It is true that he painted so many years that his work began to show strong signs of decadence before his death. In other words, it is difficult to reconcile the masterly portrait of George Frederick Cooke in the Academy of Fine Arts with some of the portraits painted by Sully in the 60's. The last portrait he painted was of the late bookseller Robert A. Lindsay. It was painted in 1872 when the artist was eighty-nine years of age, and bears few signs of the master's brush. Sully lived to a great age, and painted continuously, having painted on a rough estimate probably 1500 portraits and other subjects. Not all of these are by any means equally good. Some of the earlier pictures display a mastery that places the painter in the front rank of American painters, but many of his "heads" or studies are weak, although delicate and have the appearance of being unfinished. He seemed able to paint graceful and pretty heads of young women, and many of these were engraved for the annuals in the middle of the last century, but Sully's last strong

work was his portrait of Queen Victoria, which he painted in the year of her coronation, 1837.

Sully was the son of an equestrian performer, Lawrence Sully, who came to this country in 1792. At that time Thomas Sully was nine years of age. His elder brother, Lawrence, was a miniature painter, and he went to Virginia. There Thomas received some of his earliest training in art. One of his earliest efforts as a painter was a miniature portrait of Mrs. Warren, the leading actress of America in her day. This work was done in 1806, and the picture afterward was engraved for the *Mirror of Taste.* About this time Sully married, on little more than ambition. However, he found friends in Philadelphia, who gave him money to take him to England to study and to copy old Masters. He had previously received some instruction from Gilbert Stuart, whose influence is strong in Sully's portrait work. Stuart undoubtedly was Sully's master, and he continued to the end of his career to paint somewhat in the manner of the great American portraitist.

After the death of Girard the property on Fifth street came into the possession of the city, but such was the regard which the members of the city government held for Thomas Sully that he was permitted to remain in his old house undisturbed until the end of his days. After he died, in 1872, the property was improved.

At 429 Market street there still stands a granite monument erected by one of that highway's greatest merchant princes. Caleb Cope, who, although he was born in 1797, lived so long and so full a life that many men only now in middle life recall him. Mr. Cope, who was born in Greensburg, Westmoreland County, came to Philadelphia when eighteen years of age and entered the big importing house owned by his uncles, Israel and Jasper Cope, then on the site of the present 409 Market street. He remained with his uncles until he succeeded them in the business under the firm name of Caleb Cope & Co. Mr. Cope was active in all movements that made for better business and a better city and was a member of its leading learned societies. As we have seen, he was one of the projectors of the Merchants Hotel, and in 1854 opened the great granite building at 429. At the time of its erection it was regarded as the finest mercantile house in the city; certainly it was looked upon as the most ambitious one, as it was then the most modern in construction and in the application of new ideas. *Gleason's Pictorial,* an illustrated weekly published in Boston, devoted a page to describing and picturing the new structure, which thus became known all over the country. When the store was completed the firm gave a supper at Jones's Hotel to the architects and workmen who had erected it, and there were fifty guests. At this time Mr. Cope had virtually retired from active business life and had left the business to his young men. In a speech he delivered at the supper he admitted that

11 SOUTH FIFTH STREET, WHERE THOMAS SULLY LIVED, 1830–1872

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The building was removed shortly after the painter's death when the property was improved. The thoroughfare beside the house is Ranstead street.

the building had been suggested by them. However, three years later the fury of the panic of 1857 broke over the country, and the firm was one of the hundreds that failed. Despite this, Mr. Cope succeeded in paying off all his creditors and still had a comfortable fortune. For nearly a quarter century before his death, in 1888, he was president of The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society and during his administration its assets increased from $4,500,000 to $30,000,000.

CHAPTER XI

FIFTH STREET TO SIXTH—ALFRED NEWSAM, THE DEAF MUTE ARTIST—THE PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL'S BEGINNING—COLONEL BENNETT

Fifth and Market streets was the scene of the first work of art of Albert Newsam, the deaf mute artist and lithographer, produced in Philadelphia, and, strangely enough, this immature masterpiece, which altered Newsam's career, was drawn on a watch box.

There have been no watch boxes for more than half a century, but for the benefit of the curious it may be said that a watch box was more or less shaped like the police patrol boxes which contained the first police telephone service instruments installed here. The old watch boxes, however, were a great deal larger and were constructed of wood. They were to be found at the corners of streets at intervals of a few squares. One of these stood at the corner of Fifth and Market streets, and one day in May, 1820, a crowd of idlers and passersby surrounded it watching the artistic efforts of a small deaf-mute boy who was picturing Market street from the corner westward. He was just putting the finishing touches to his sketch in chalk, when a venerable gentleman, with white hair and a benevolent air, stopped to learn the reason for the crowd. He watched the boy drawing a faithful picture of the market shed and the buildings on the street, and the cleverness of the lad attracted the instant attention of the good man.

The venerable gentleman was none other than Bishop William White, who had identified himself with numerous philanthropies, and just then was deeply interested in the newly instituted school for deaf mutes, of whose board of trustees he was president. The Bishop made inquiries about the boy and found he was in charge of another deaf mute, and that both had just arrived from Ohio, and were stopping at the Black Bear, a farmers' inn, then at the corner of Merchant, now Ludlow street and Fifth. The Black Bear, as we saw in a former chapter, originally was on Market street below Fifth. There it stood a little back from the street, and about 1810, "backed out into Fifth street," as one historian picturesquely describes its removal.

The man who had the deaf mute in charge explained that his name was William P. Davis, and the boy was his brother, Albert N. Davis. There was something about the man that did not ring true. Indeed, he was suspected of being an impostor, but he survived the tests which were intended to throw him off of his guard, and show him to be a

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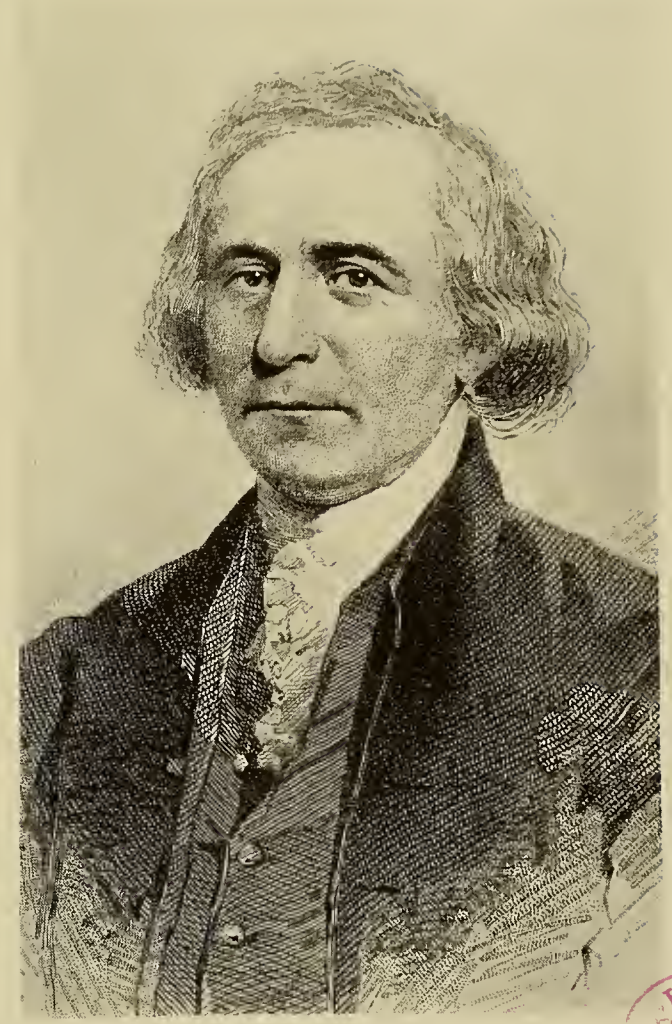
ALBERT NEWSAM
A deaf mute who became the foremost lithographic draftsman of his time



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PHILIP FRENEAU
Poet of the Revolution who published Jefferson's political organ here

person who could both speak and hear. He wrote his own story and that of the boy on the little slate the latter carried. He wrote that he was a native of Reading, Pa., and that he had been educated by the celebrated Abbe Sicard. He further explained that he had found the boy, his brother, in Steubenville, Ohio, and that he had brought him on for instruction in Philadelphia.

The managers of the Philadelphia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb held a hasty meeting, and agreed that the boy should be placed in the institution, and he thus became the State's protégé. The man received a sum of money upon his statement that he was on his way to Virginia to see some of his relations, and he never again was seen. The boy proved to be the orphan of an Ohio boatman named Newsam, who had been drowned. It was learned that he had been kidnapped from his mother and guardian in Steubenville by the impostor and mendicant, and his natural talent for drawing had been made a source of profit on the way to Philadelphia.

Albert was placed in the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, then at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Market streets, on the site of the New Bingham Hotel, and soon displayed great talent for drawing and also proved to be a model pupil. After he had been educated he was placed with Cephas G. Childs, the engraver, and apprenticed to the trade of engraving on steel. But Albert Newsam did not do much as an engraver on steel, for he was found to be expert with the crayon, and just about that time the art of lithography was attracting attention of engravers in this country. Childs engaged in the new business, and the talent of Albert Newsam was found of the greatest value to his employer.

Newsam was a most faithful copyist, and at the same time a remarkable technician in lithography. As a draughtsman of original subjects he was strangely weak. His portraits from life are among the failures of his career, but his copies of portraits are remarkable for the delicacy of the technique and for the deep understanding of the artist for his medium. Newsam, soon after Childs had established his lithographic plant, was placed in charge of the drawing room, and the portraits he then drew are even now attracting the attention of collectors of lithographs in this country. For artistic presentation of his subjects Newsam was unequaled by any other artist then engaged in lithography in this country and, indeed, some of his work has since rarely been equaled here. Yet there is a strange weakness in the greater part of his work, which may be set down to his natural infirmities.

His deprivation of two senses undoubtedly prevented him from succeeding to the fullest extent. He realized his limitation and for a time went to James R. Lambdin for instruction in portrait painting, but that master found that his development seemed hopeless. He

bought and studied the best work of the European lithographers, and it was the dream of his life to be regarded as in a class with the best of them. But in this he was fated to fail, for he had limitations; he was weak in drawing anything but a head, upon which he would lavish much care. There was nothing spontaneous about his work; it all was evidently labored, which made it fall just short of greatness; yet there was none that could equal him in copying a portrait and presenting it in an artistic manner.

Newsam seems to have been fated to disappointments. He married, but his marriage was a failure. A treacherous friend took a large part of his collection of valuable lithographs and sold them, and in the fire that destroyed the Artisan Building at Fourth and Ranstead streets in 1856 virtually the whole of his remaining drawings and lithographs were lost. The artist suffered a stroke of paralysis, and his last days were spent in the Living Home of Wilmington where, through the kindness of friends, he was taken. There he died in November, 1864, and was buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery. He was the first great lithographer produced in this country.

On the south side of Market street west of Fifth the Pennsylvania Hospital was first located. This was only temporary quarters until the buildings at Eighth and Spruce streets could be erected. The house selected for the beginning of the experiment, for at the time it was little more to the majority of persons, although its founders had a very clear idea of the value of such an institution in the city, had been the home of Chief Justice John Kinsey, of the Provincial Supreme Court. Justice Kinsey had his mansion house on Market street just west of Fifth, about the site of 508, and from all descriptions it seems to have been surrounded by pastures and gardens, although it did not extend quite as far westward as Sixth street. The house, from all evidences, could not have been large, for the managers of the hospital realized that the building was unsuitable, especially for the care of the insane.

Franklin, in his "Autobiography," has given such a lively description of the foundation of the hospital that little that is new about it can be added at this time. While the great philosopher is careful to deny that the idea originated with him, yet he seems to have keenly enjoyed the compliment that compelled its founder to apply to him to make the enterprise successful. No one could have told the story so artfully and yet so truthfully as Franklin did in his charming story of his own career. Dr. Thomas Bond, a native of Calvert County, Maryland, who had studied in the Paris hospitals, came to Philadelphia in 1732, when he was little more than twenty years old, and began the practice of medicine. His brother, Dr. Phineas Bond, who was a few years his junior, had studied medicine in Leyden, Paris, Edinburgh and London and also was engaged in practice here, and both of them were

MARKET STREET, SOUTH SIDE, FIFTH TO SIXTH, ABOUT 1868

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The most striking object in the photograph is the battlemented tower which arose over Colonel Bennett's "Tower Hall." Another eccentricity of the Colonel was having his sign on the eastern wall of his building painted backward.

members of the first medical staff of the Pennsylvania Hospital, which Dr. Thomas Bond may be said to have founded.

The Province, and especially the city of Philadelphia, was growing very fast toward the middle of the eighteenth century, and the necessity for a charitable hospital where the poor and sick and especially the insane could be cared for, was quickly recognized by Dr. Thomas Bond. Consequently he set out to interest the wealthy persons in the city with a view to their contribution of money toward the establishment of such an institution. At that time Dr. Bond does not appear to have been intimate with Franklin, because he did not call upon him. However, everywhere Dr. Bond went he found persons interested, but they did not subscribe, usually asking if he had seen Franklin and what Franklin thought of such an enterprise. At least that is the way the philosopher tells the story in his "Autobiography," and there is no reason to doubt it. Finally, when he had failed in every direction, the Doctor called upon Franklin. He frankly explained the reason of his visit, and why he had come to interest the printer. At the same time he explained that the reason he had not called before was that he did not believe Franklin could be interested in such an enterprise.

Knowing Franklin's character and his own great experience in the world, one can almost picture the great philosopher smiling at the method pursued by Dr. Bond. Franklin at once saw that such an enterprise needed a press agent. He had, in his own practice, as he is frank to explain, always put a few "readers" in his newspaper when he wanted to start something. That prepared the public mind, and once prepared, the soil was ready for the onset of the man with the subscription book. Dr. Bond had not attempted to get any publicity for his proposals. He had worked quietly and genteelly and had lost. Franklin at once took hold of the plan. First he set down his name for a subscription, which would be good bait for the next person asked. Then he wrote several letters on the subject of the necessity of a public hospital in his *Gazette,* and the enterprise was well on its way. Franklin did even more. He saw that the Province ought to appropriate something, and being then a member of the Assembly, he cunningly devised a bill that worked out just as he knew it would.

Then, as now, the country members were stubborn about anything desired for Philadelphia. They declared that the hospital would serve the city principally and consequently the citizens ought to support it. But they derided the idea that £2000 could be subscribed for the hospital, and Franklin, learning that, devised his bill to make it dependent upon the subscription of that amount before the Province should appropriate an equal amount in two sums a year apart. The country members fell completely into the trap, for it was nothing else, for almost at the time the bill was before the Assembly nearly that

amount had been subscribed. Within a short time not only was £2000 subscribed, but even more appeared on Dr. Bond's paper, and then the Province found it had agreed to give £2000 toward the erection of a hospital building.

So much for the romance of the origin of the hospital. The hospital was organized, the contributors held meetings in the parlor of the Widow Pratt's Royal Standard Tavern, on Market street near Second, and in October, 1751, arrangements were made for renting the house "of the late John Kinsey, deceased, with gardens, pasture, stable, etc.," for £40 a year, and make repairs amounting to £25. These repairs, or alterations, were made, and on February 10, 1752, the first patients were received into the Pennsylvania Hospital. One of these was an insane woman, whose son-in-law agreed to pay £20 a year for her care. It was discovered that the fittings had cost more than had been expected, and that the managers had run into debt about £150.

In the directory for 1785 we find an Abel Kensey, or Kinsey, dwelling at what would be 512 Market street. This Mr. Kinsey may have been related to the Justice. In 1795 and in 1801 an Abraham Kintzing, or Kinsey, for the name appears thus printed in the directories for those years, dwelt at what would now be 508. In 1795 he is set down as a grazier, and in 1801 as a gentleman, but evidently the retired grazier was not related to Justice Kinsey.

A little further westward, on this side of the street, may still be seen at 518 the massive granite front of what in former years was Colonel Joseph M. Bennett's Tower Hall. About the middle of the last century Colonel Bennett had what was then regarded as the largest clothing business in this city, and the business which made the name of Philadelphia known for the character of its clothing in the South and West. The house did not employ any traveling salesmen, but depended entirely upon newspaper advertising and certain other forms of publicity to sell its goods.

The firm used to be rather proud of its distinction of "keeping a poet," and there are still many persons living who will recall the verses of "The Bard of Tower Hall," which used to ornament Colonel Bennett's advertisements on the first page of the *Public Ledger* in those days. Lewis Dela was the name of the Tower Hall bard, and when he was not writing epic verses, which always concluded with the advice to go to Tower Hall for clothing, he was selling some of the self-same clothing.

Mr. Dela had a lively, entertaining style of versifying and always used some homely topic. If what he wrote was not good poetry neither was it any worse than much of the poetry then appearing in the magazines. For the great part he parodied the better-known poems of greater poets, but frequently he used an original topic and treated it

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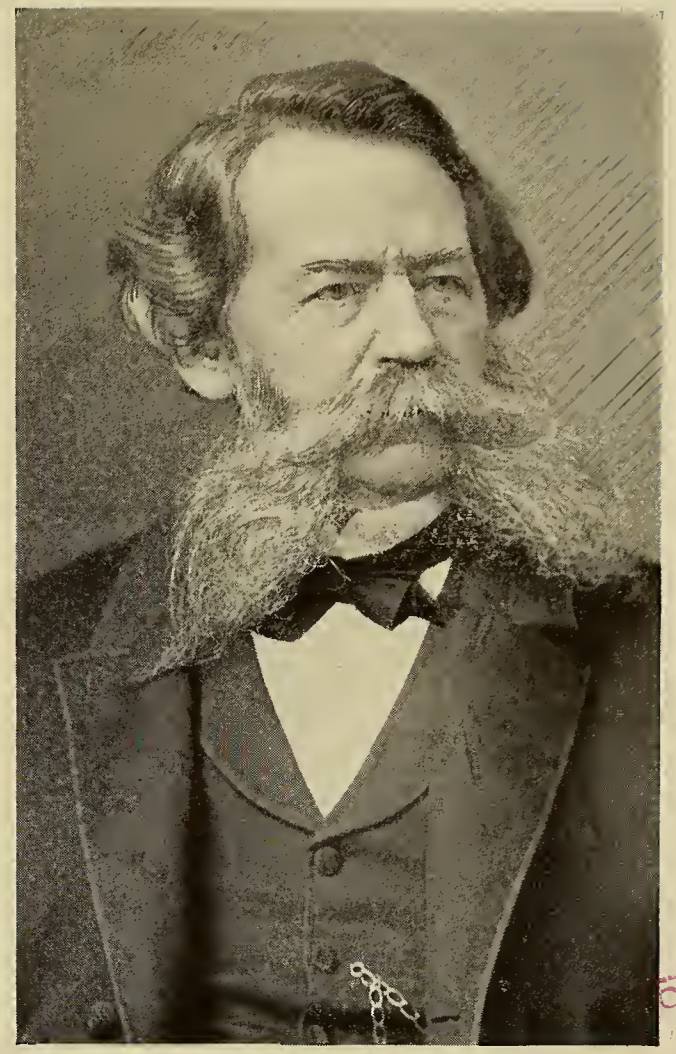
DR. PHINEAS BOND
One of the first physicians associated with the Pennsylvania Hospital



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COLONEL JOSEPH M. BENNETT
Clothing manufacturer and philanthropist whose advertisements were written in verse

in an original manner. One of his advertisements in verse was headed "Law Versus Saw," published in 1857, which from the two last stanzas will be noted to be cast in an agreeable metre:

This conclusion then I draw,
That no exercise of jaw,
Twisting India-rubber law,
Is as good
As the exercise of paw,
When the healthy muscles draw
On the handle of a saw,
Sawing wood.

Yet we cannot all saw wood,
And we would not if we could;
This is plainly understood,
As we know;
But at Bennett's Tower Hall,
Lo, the millions, short and tall,
Buy their Clothing, one and all,
Very low.

For nearly thirty years these poetical advertisements came from Tower Hall, even after Colonel Bennett had retired from the business.

Colonel Bennett's career was another instance of a poor boy rising from comparative poverty to wealth, getting his start by sheer industry and attention to business. He was born in Juliustown, N. J., in 1816. His mother was a member of the Society of Friends. His father was a miller, but the son desired to learn tailoring, and while a boy came to this city and was put at the trade. Soon after he attained his majority and had completed his apprenticeship he started in business in Kensington. The business improved and soon young Bennett found a partner, James C. Umberger. Together they bought out Laurent Brothers, who had a store on the south side of Market street, between Fifth and Sixth streets and next door to the building later erected as Tower Hall. Business here improved rapidly, and the young tailor decided to reflect this improvement by erecting a stately building. Before Tower Hall was finished, however, Bennett's partner, Mr. Umberger, died, and it was about this time that Colonel Bennett had in his employ John Wanamaker, who came to him as a mere boy, but who had had some little experience in the business from his position at Lippincott's, at Fourth and Market streets. Long after Mr. Wanamaker had shown himself to be a great storekeeper and merchant, Colonel Bennett remarked: "I always knew there was something in that boy that would make a great man and a great merchant."

During the Civil War Colonel Bennett made a great deal of clothing for the Federal Government and, having been attracted to real estate investments, sold out his business to Garitee, Masten & Allen in 1879. While Bennett was a young man Governor Porter commissioned him colonel in command of a regiment of militia in General Small's brigade, which answers the query as to where he derived his title.

About the time of the Civil War Colonel Bennett bought the Savage mansion, which with its great garden was a landmark at the northwest corner of Eleventh and Spruce streets. This property he sold about 1890, and the present row of dwellings was erected on its site. The property interests of Colonel Bennett were unusually large. He bought Druid Hill Park, in Baltimore, and afterward sold it to that city. He once owned the Ocean House, at Long Branch, when that resort was the most fashionable hotel on the Atlantic Coast. About the time he retired from the clothing business he purchased Fox's American Theatre, and under the name of the Chestnut Street Opera House the playhouse has since been conducted. Two adjoining properties on the east of the theatre also were purchased by Colonel Bennett, and all of this parcel of land, now probably worth $1,000,000, if not more than that amount, he left to the University of Pennsylvania in his will. During his lifetime, however, he had given to the University the properties 3228 to 3238 Walnut street, to be used for dormitories for women, for he is responsible for such co-education as is found in the University today.

After his death it was discovered that while Colonel Bennett believed he had given these properties to the University, he had neglected some legal technicalities and the University did not have clear title at all. This matter was arranged amicably with other beneficiaries under his will in 1902, and the properties which he gave were properly transferred to the University. Colonel Bennett also gave some land to the city for Fairmount Park, and also virtually all of the old Gentleman's Driving Park, which he owned, to the Methodist Episcopal Orphanage and the Methodist Episcopal Home for the aged. He died September 29, 1898.

MARKET STREET, SOUTH SIDE, FIFTH TO SIXTH, 1859

MARKET STREET, NORTH SIDE, FIFTH TO SIXTH, 1859

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CHAPTER XII

FIFTH STREET TO SIXTH—THE BIG FIRE OF 1856—HUDSON'S BLOCK—NATHAN SELLERS—FRENEAU

Market street has been a business thoroughfare almost from the beginning of the city. Naturally, therefore, it has been the scene of a good many fires of more or less importance. These, within the memory of many readers, have been so numerous that they cannot all be included here. But the fire that burned many buildings on Market street between Fifth and Sixth streets, in 1856, was one of the largest that this city had witnessed up to that time, and some reference to it should be made here, while we pause at Fifth street on our westward journey, for nothing else was talked of for weeks in Philadelphia.

This fire, which the *Public Ledger* the next day referred to as a conflagration, started in the paper warehouse of Jessup & Moore, on North street, early on the morning of April 30, 1856. Readers of the newspaper of the next day must have regarded their paper as enterprising, for there was a brief account of the fire in it which they had at breakfast time. It is true that the account was brief, but there was a postscript dated 3 A. M., which prepared the people of Philadelphia for the alarming particulars which they received in the following day's issue.

In those days it was customary for the majority of the local dailies to print such accounts about thirty-six hours after they occurred, but the *Ledger* on this occasion managed to beat that rate by at least thirty hours.

The fire, assisted by a strong northeast wind, spread rapidly. The method of sending alarms in those days was primitive, and the fire department was a volunteer organization. Consequently when the first hose and engine companies arrived the flames already had doomed the building in which the fire originated, and were eating their way through to Market street and westward to Sixth street. In all forty buildings were affected before the flames were subdued, and the end was not reached until many stores on both sides of Market street were more or less damaged. The entire loss was placed at $697,000, which was an enormous one for that day. One fireman was killed by falling walls in North street, and several others were reported missing, while a member of the Franklin Hose Company was fatally stabbed by two members of the Moyamensing Hose Company at Seventh and St. James

(now Commerce) streets. A fire covering the same area today probably would cause a loss of several million dollars.

The site of this great fire originally was known as Hudson's Square, and included the area between Fifth and Sixth streets and Market and Arch streets. It was owned by William Hudson, a Yorkshire tanner, who came to this city as a settler in 1682. There have been suggestions made that he was connected with that Henry Hudson who discovered Delaware bay, and then, owing to the sand bars, neglected to penetrate the river and thus lost credit for discovering the great South river.

William Hudson came to Philadelphia when property was cheap, if one was not particular to take "fronts" (lots on either the Delaware or Schuylkill). Hudson bought a great deal of property on Third street below Chestnut, and the square already alluded to. He was a man of prominence in the community and was chosen one of the original Councilmen appointed by Penn under the City Charter of 1701. He was twice a member of the Assembly, in 1706, and again in 1724. In 1715 we find him an alderman, and in 1725 and 1726 Mayor of the city. He died in 1742, having lived long enough to see his children married into many of the first families in his time.

Hudson came here when the site of the city was in its primitive wildness, and Pastorius noted in one of his papers that he had lost himself in the woods between the water front, where he was living in a cave, and William Hudson's house, at Third and Chestnut streets. There is a note in "Watson's Annals" to the effect that William Hudson at first was a clergyman of the Church of England, but that he became a Friend from conviction.

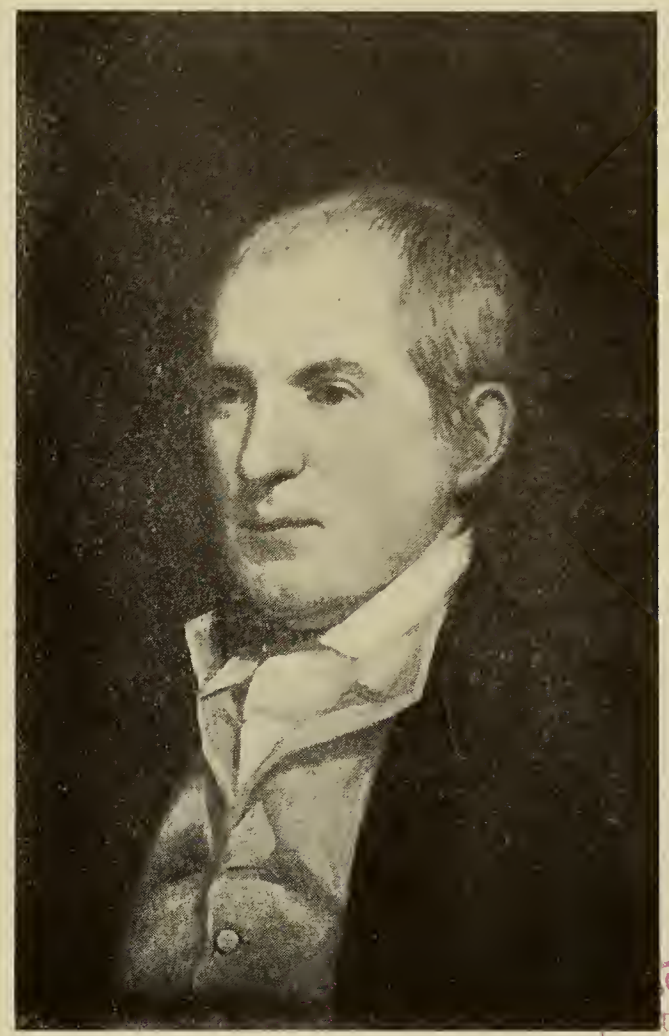
It was perhaps after William Hudson's death that the two small streets were opened through his property known as Hudson's Square. They are to be found on the map of the city printed in 1762, and the one nearest Arch street was at first called North alley. In recent years it was named North street, and about twenty years ago received its present name, Cuthbert street. The other street, which was the first above Market, was known as South alley, but in the last century received the name of Commerce street.

The grandson of William Hudson lived at the northwest corner of Fifth and Market streets, and in the directory for 1785 we find the house on that corner occupied by Samuel Hudson, the last of the male line of descent.

At this time the whole of the original property on the square had not been sold. There still were vacant lots on the north side of Market street between Fifth and Sixth streets. Next to Samuel Hudson at this time lived Israel Jones, and next to him Dr. Dunlap.

On the site of what is now 517 lived John Pemberton, gentleman, a son of Israel Pemberton, whose great house was at Third and Chest-

COLEMAN SELLERS, 1st
Painted by Chas. Wilson Peale, 1810



NATHAN SELLERS
Painted by Chas. Wilson Peale, 1820

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nut streets. John Pemberton had a mansion near the Wissahickon. After his death his widow occupied his Market street house.

In this same row in 1785 lived at what now would be 531, Dr. Joseph Redman, and next to him, on the site at 533, Nathan Sellers. The northeast corner of Sixth and Market streets at this time was a vacant lot owned by a descendant of William Hudson. Not a great deal appears to be known of this Dr. Joseph Redman, who is said to have been a son of the great Dr. John Redman.

William Shippen, Sr., who, it seems, was not a connection of the Edward Shippen who was an early Mayor of Philadelphia, and whose only claim to fame is to be found in the fact that he was a delegate to the Continental Congress from Pennsylvania from 1778 to 1780, in 1791 was occupying the house in which Dr. Joseph Redman resided in 1785.

Nathan Sellers, who was bred to the law, but became famed for his invention of drawn wire and wire weaving at a time when this industry was a new one in this country, erected the house on Market street in 1782. Horace Wells Sellers, a great-grandson of Nathan Sellers, some years ago induced his uncle, George Escol Sellers, an engineer, who died in 1899, aged ninety-one years, to write his recollections, chiefly about the residents of the vicinity of Sixth and Market streets, and mainly from these recollections, through the courtesy of Mr. Sellers, the information about the Sellers' homestead at Sixth and Market streets is derived.

Nathan Sellers, after studying law and conveyancing with Henry Hale Graham, Prothonotary at Chester, prior to the Revolutionary War, came to Philadelphia and for a time served as recorder of the Supreme Executive Council in this city. His father, John Sellers, was an active member of the Assembly, and, being also engaged in numerous undertakings, he called his son Nathan back to Delaware County to take charge of his wire working and weaving industries. At the outbreak of the Revolution Nathan, who in 1776 was twenty-five years of age, was an ensign in Colonel Paschal's battalion. He was in New Jersey on active service when he was recalled from military duty by a special resolution of Congress, so that he might assist in making paper molds.

As may be understood, these are made of wire; and as those used had been imported from England, the opening of hostilities had placed an embargo on this kind of import. There was need of paper, but it could not be made without molds. Nathan Sellers, returning to take charge of this new trade, found he had to begin at the beginning. He was compelled to invent a method of drawing and annealing wire, and there were other processes required that he found had to be invented. He was so successful in devising new processes that afterward the improvements he had made were adopted in Europe for the same work.

After the Revolution Nathan Sellers took one of his younger brothers, David, into the business, and they established themselves on Sixth street north of Market. They had a monopoly of the trade and their business prospered. In 1782 Nathan Sellers purchased the lot on Market street from Mrs. Sarah Moore, wife of Dr. Thomas Moore and granddaughter of William Hudson. As soon as the new house was built Nathan Sellers moved his office to his dwelling, in accordance with the custom of the time. The late George Escol Sellers has left not only a good written description of his dwelling but also has left a drawing of the building as he remembered it.

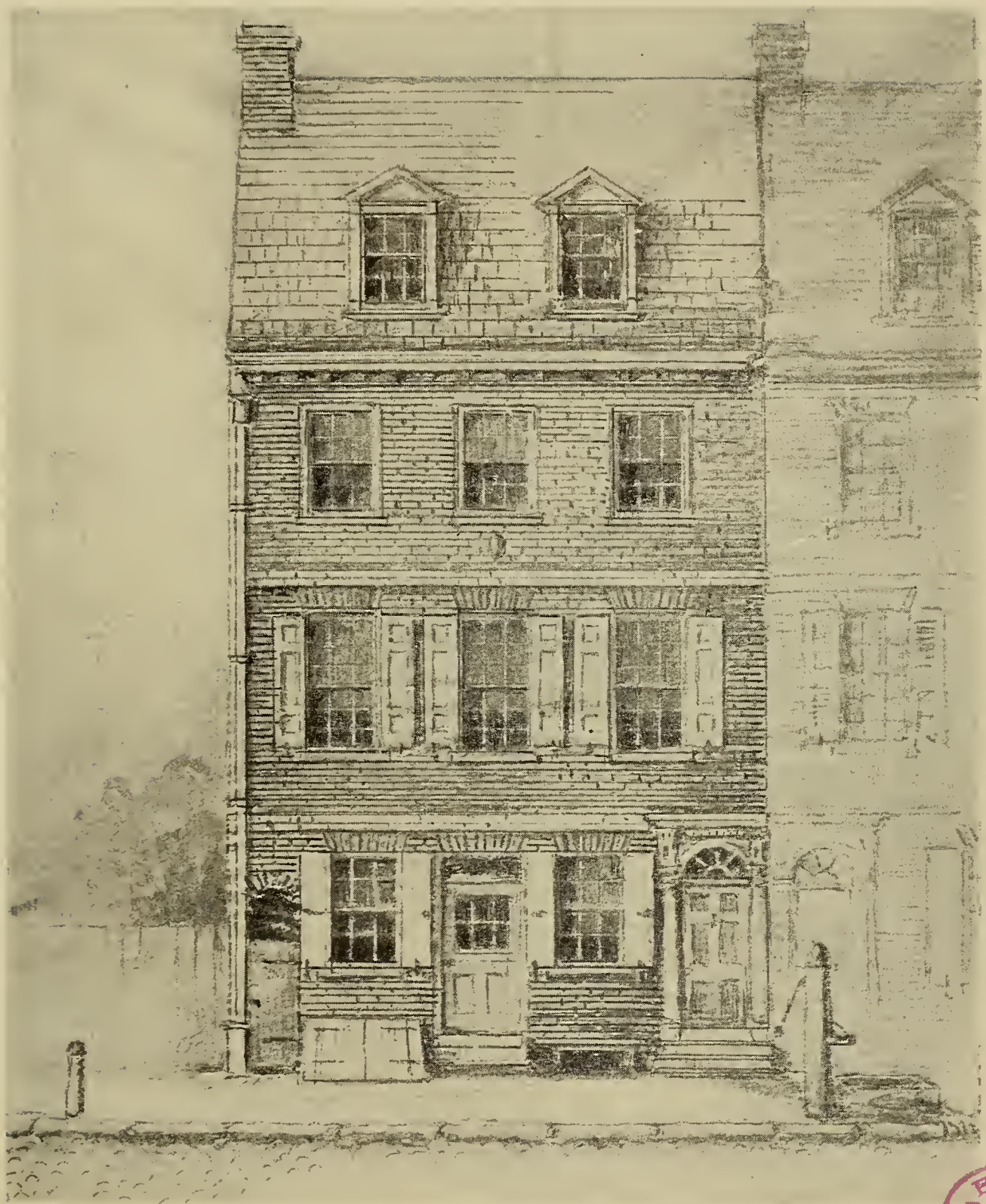
Horace Wells Sellers describing this old house and, being an experienced architect and engineer, is able to speak with authority, says:

> The building as originally erected was typical of many merchants' houses of the period, the ground floor being occupied as a warehouse and counting room, with a separate entrance to the residence portion. The entrance was at the eastern line and approached by a flight of marble steps and opened into a long, wide hallway. This extended to the stair hall in the rear of the main building. The dining room was on the ground floor of the back building, overlooking a side yard. This yard extended to the end of the back building, where it connected by a terrace and flight of steps with the garden, which was the whole width of the lot, extending to the coach house and stable, facing a court which opened into Sixth street. The stairway in the rear of the entrance hall led to the living rooms above, the parlor being on the front of the building, the full width of the house making a room about 24 feet square. The entire back building and the remaining portions of the main house below the attic were fitted for the family uses.

Nathan Sellers retired from business in 1817 and his house at Sixth and Market streets was then occupied by his eldest son, Coleman Sellers, who succeeded him in the business. Coleman Sellers remained there until 1829, when he built a residence and a warehouse adjoining it on North Sixth street. The residence was at 10 North Sixth street, at the southwest corner of what then was Mulberry court, and now is Commerce street. Here Coleman Sellers began to take interest in the construction of fire engines, and formed a partnership with a Mr. Perkins under the style of Perkins & Sellers, for the manufacture of these pieces of apparatus. Their shop was in the rear of Market street near Seventh, and was reached only through Mulberry court, not then opened to Seventh street. The firm built what was known as a "Hydraulien," which is said to have been the first marked improvement in fire engine building since they had been adopted. Later, under the firm name of Sellers & Pennock, the manufacture of these fire engines was continued at Sixteenth and Market streets.

Coleman Sellers married Sophonisba Peale, a daughter of Charles Wilson Peale, the American historical portrait painter of the Revolution, whose work is identified with Philadelphia. This Coleman Sellers was one of the commissioners to erect the Eastern Penitentiary.

One day in the late fall of the year 1834, during her six weeks' stay



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THE SELLERS HOUSE, 231 HIGH STREET, 1785–1829

From a drawing founded upon a sketch left by the late George Escol Sellers. The house stood next to the eastern corner of Sixth street.

in Philadelphia, Harriet Martineau, that remarkable woman and writer, was hovering around the vicinity of Sixth and Market streets, seeking out historic sites. It appears from a reminiscence of George Escol Sellers, already referred to, that at that period he was a young man and lived at Sixth and St. James, or Commerce, streets. He recalled the incident by saying that he was standing at the corner of Sixth and Market streets when a lady approached him and inquired from him who lived in this house and that, and drew from him what he had heard of the dwellers in the neighborhood. Both seemed to be attracted to each other; Miss Martineau in the entertaining and well-informed young man, and young Sellers in the inquisitive stranger. When the stranger had learned all she could she thanked Mr. Sellers and placed a card in his hand. He looked at it and then, too late to express his astonishment, he learned that he had been talking to the most remarkable English woman of her time.

It appears that Miss Martineau was in search of the former home of Dr. Priestley, which was in this neighborhood, and while she might have been able to rest her eyes upon the building in 1834, it is certain that no one can do so today.

George Escol Sellers, in his memoirs, also mentions that at one time their next-door neighbor on Market street, in the house which we have seen both Dr. Joseph Redman and William Shippen, Sr., had occupied, was Timothy Pickering, and Philip Freneau, the journalist and poet, is also said to have been resident in the neighborhood at one of the corners of Sixth and Market streets.

George Escol Sellers maintained the tradition of the Sellers family by becoming a prominent engineer and inventor. He invented a process of making pulp paper from reeds; he made some basic improvements in the locomotive, on some of the first engines used on the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad; his improvement in the process of making lead pipe is probably used to the present day. At the time the Panama Railroad was being constructed Mr. Sellers invented a type of hill-climbing locomotive for that road which was being built under the direction of the elder John Trautwine, as chief engineer. He also devised what was called an oragraph, a machine for taking levels in topographical surveying. It was a most ingenious instrument, but, although it was adopted by the United States Government, it was soon superseded by the plane table method still in use. Mr. Sellers also organized an artists' sketch club, the first formed in this city. This was shortly before 1830, and among the members were Thomas Sully and Felix O. C. Darley.

In 1793 this block had a rather remarkable literary and Revolutionary character among its residents. This was Philip Freneau, the poet of the Revolution, who is said to have divided with Thomas Paine

the literary honors of that struggle, and whose poems are said to have been almost equally effective with the pamphlets of the author of "Common Sense."

Freneau was a printer-journalist who had a gift for the rapid writing of occasional satirical verse. It may not have been great poetry, or even good poetry, but it had what nowadays is called "a punch" in its lines; it conveyed political sentiments in a compelling manner and always was stirringly partisan. The ardent, persistent character of Freneau's partisanship is difficult to understand by present-day standards. He published a paper for the Jeffersonian Republicans, as they were called in that period, and it could not have been very agreeable reading for the "monarchists," as Freneau was wont to describe the Federalists. The poet was intensely bitter against the whole Federal party, including Washington, Adams and Hamilton, whom he alluded to as "Atlas," and continued to hurl literary harpoons into their political hides week after week in the columns of his *National Gazette.*

There would be nothing remarkable in all this, perhaps, even to present-day readers, but can it be imagined that the Administration in Washington would continue a clerk in the State Department who not only openly conducted a virulent organ against it, but even against the chief officers of the Government? Yet that is precisely what Freneau did while he was in Philadelphia. He was a friend of Jefferson, then, in 1791, Secretary of State, and at the same time was editor of the *National Gazette,* which did all it could to inflame the people's minds against the Administration. It was generally understood that the poet was only carrying out Jefferson's instructions, and that the *Gazette* was his personal organ, but Freneau managed to retain his clerkship through it all. The *National Gazette* was begun in 1791, and continued for about two years, or to the close of the second volume. While he was publishing this newspaper Freneau resided at what then was 209 Market street, and what now would be on the site of 511 Market street. The poet soon after left this city and started a newspaper in New Jersey, and there brought out the first edition of his poems in one volume. Another edition in two volumes was published here in 1809.

Coming down to about the middle of the last century we find a novel restaurant at what now is 519 Market street. This building was erected or altered by J. W. Pennington in 1847 into a restaurant. At that time, and a part of it is still remaining, there was a cupola and steeple, the front of the tower being devoted to a clock. Pennington appears to have kept the place for several years and in 1850 the restaurant—or public house, as it then was called, for liquor was served as well as meals—was conducted by Martha Pennington.

The first floor was arranged like the old English taverns, with little box-like compartments, where small parties or even single persons could

make themselves cozy and comfortable and have their food and drink served to them. The young bloods, to whom nothing was sacred, used to call these little stalls bunks, and they gave the place the name of "The Steamboat," because they declared that the arrangements were exactly like staterooms. In those days it was a place of popular resort and later some other frequenters delighted to allude to Pennington's place as "The Clock," from the big timepiece that ornamented its tower. For the last forty or more years, however, the place has been used for commercial purposes of a different character.

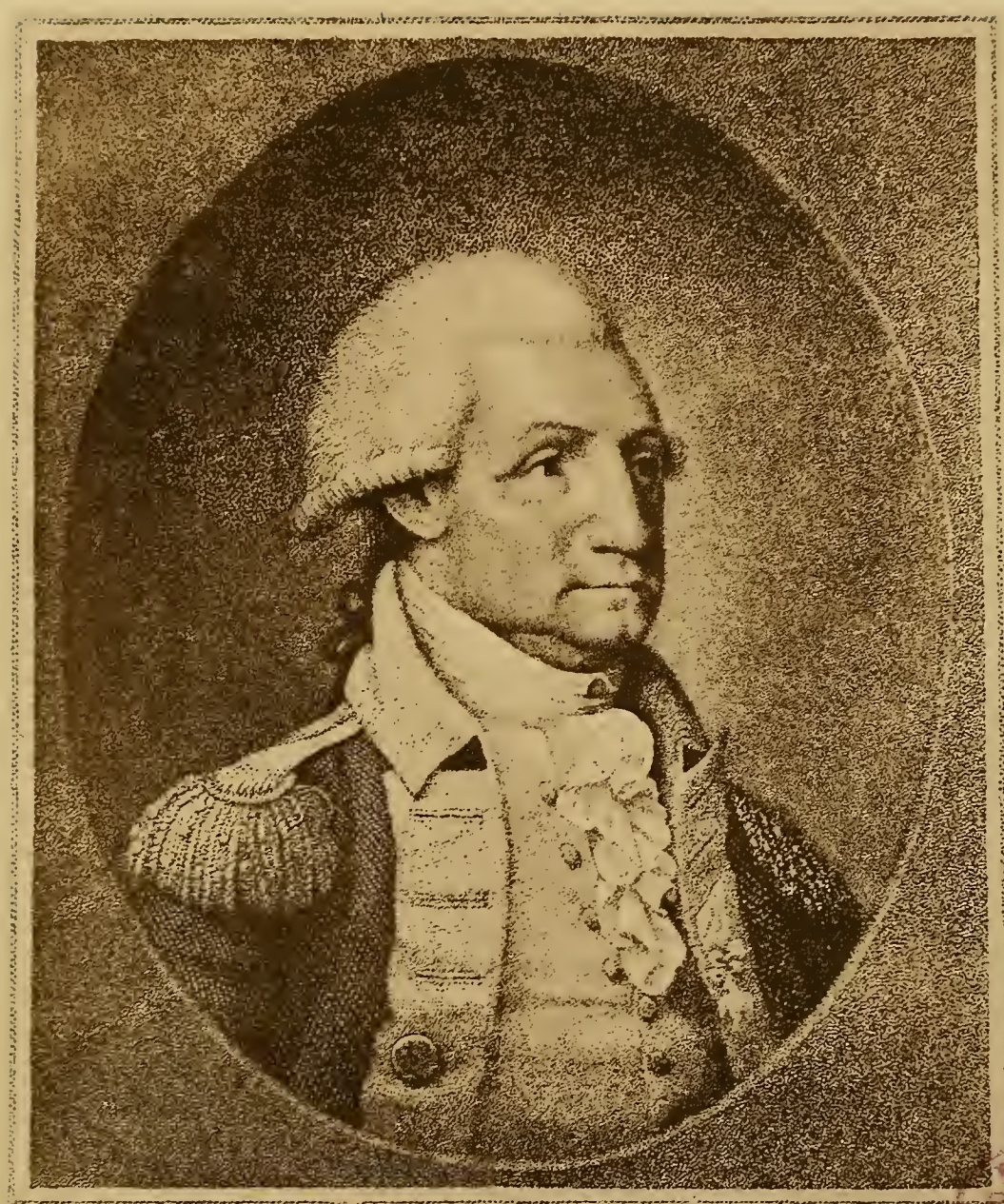
CHAPTER XIII

FIFTH STREET TO SIXTH, CONTINUED—THE PRESIDENTIAL MANSION AND ITS HISTORIC OCCUPANTS

Probably the most historic spot on Market street, between Fifth and Sixth streets, is the site of the house in which Washington lived while President of the United States. The late Governor Pennypacker in one of his addresses has referred to the little-appreciated fact that the greater part of Washington's public career was passed in Pennsylvania. There is no need here to review that career, but it is of interest to bring vividly to mind the fact that Washington was a resident here from 1790 until 1797. Of course his presence was not continuous, for he was accustomed to return to Mt. Vernon when Congress was not in session and there was little public business to be transacted, yet this did not leave him many months out of the city during those seven years.

In the directory for 1791 the number of the executive mansion on Market street was set down as 190. That of course does not convey any idea of its site under the present system of numbering, but it was definitely settled by a committee about thiry or more years ago, who made an exhaustive inquiry, and came to the conclusion that the house occupied the site of the buildings at present numbered 526, 528 and 530 Market street, and on the strength of this report some years ago a bronze tablet was set on the wall of 528 Market street by the Sons of the Revolution, reciting that there stood the house in which both Washington and Adams lived while each was President of the United States.

It has been said that the present walls are the same that then sheltered the first two Presidents, but that the buildings were altered for business purposes. If the descriptions we have of the original and the sketch, made from memory by C. A. Poulson, are at all to be relied upon for veracity, the original building has been obliterated. This part of the block on the south side, between Fifth and Sixth streets, was owned by Chief Justice John Kinsey, as has already been related in an earlier chapter. Kinsey, who was known as the Quaker lawyer, bought the property from the Penns in 1738. Some time after his death in 1751 the property was sqld to John Lawrence, who was Mayor of the city in 1765. His daughter, Mary, married William Masters, who, as we have seen in a previous chapter, had had a desire to make Letitia Penn his bride, but was jilted by the daughter of the founder of Pennsyl-



vania. In 1761 Lawrence and his wife conveyed to their daughter, Mary Masters, then a widow, a lot with 120 feet front on the south side of Market street and having a depth to the present Ludlow street of 180 feet. On this property Mrs. Masters erected a fine dwelling. It is said to have had a front of 46 feet and a depth of 52 feet. It was a three-and-a-half story building built of brick. There is another view of this building in addition to the sketch by Poulson which does not quite agree with the latter and which may be said to be the more likely representation.

In 1772 the daughter of Mrs. Masters, Mary Masters, said to have been at the time but sixteen years of age, was married to Richard Penn, then Governor of Pennsylvania. He was then a man of thirty-seven years. The marriage ceremony was performed in Christ Church, for both the Masters and the Penns appear to have left the Society of Friends. Two days before the marriage of Richard Penn and Miss Masters, Mrs. Masters conveyed to her daughter the property; and, although it has usually been alluded to as Richard Penn's house, in reality it was the property of his wife. Together with Arthur Lee, Richard Penn went to England in 1775 to convey a petition of the Continental Congress to the King. It is related that upon being questioned concerning American affairs at the bar of the House of Commons, he irritated his questioners by substantiating all that Franklin had said. Lord Littleton remarked that throughout his examination he betrayed indications of the strongest prejudice. Richard Penn did not return again to Pennsylvania until 1808, when he was an old man, and then he only remained here about a year.

During the British occupation of the city the house on Market street, being regarded as the finest mansion in the city, was taken by General Howe for his headquarters, and on its grounds a part of the 15th Regiment was quartered. As soon as the British had evacuated the city General Benedict Arnold, who had been placed in charge of Philadelphia, entered the city and, being a person of luxurious tastes, found the mansion deserted by General Howe to meet his wants and so occupied it. Arnold immediately made himself even more objectionable to the people who remained in the city than had the British troops. He closed all the shops, so that his partners, James Mease and William West, could obtain supplies ostensibly for the public service and then dispose of the surplus and divide the profits. The secret agreement was not discovered for nearly a century afterward, and then all of Arnold's subsequent career became comprehensible. He was an extravagant man, fond of luxuries and always in urgent need of money; so when he was placed in command of the city and of all the military district east of Bristol and along the Delaware he took a mean advantage of his position to turn money into his personal coffers. It was

during this time that Arnold purchased Captain John MacPherson's place, Mount Pleasant, now in Fairmount Park.

Arnold made a brave show while he was in command of the city. He had a coach and horses and coachmen in livery. He also was fond of military display and had sentinels placed before his Market street house although, as a writer in the *Packet* pointed out, this was unnecessary, for the public enemy was not in the neighborhood and he had nothing to fear from Philadelphians, even if he did deserve rough treatment from them. In 1779 charges against Arnold's conduct here and at Valley Forge were laid before Congress; but despite his delicate position arrangements for his wedding with Peggy Shippen continued, and in April, just after he had purchased Mount Pleasant, the marriage was celebrated in the old Shippen mansion on South Fourth street, and for a part of the next fourteen months Arnold and his bride remained in this neighborhood, spending about half of the period in his Market street mansion. Arnold left the city forever about the middle of July, 1780, and then the mansion on Market street was occupied by the Sieur John Holker, consul general of France. Holker was an Englishman whose father had been exiled from England for the part he had taken in the effort to restore the pretender, Charles Edward, to the British throne. The younger Holker was educated in France, and through the influence of Franklin became an agent to furnish the Americans with supplies. He came to this country in 1776, and when the French Ambassador, Gerard, arrived here in 1778 he brought a commission to Holker as consul general of France.

While it was in the possession of Holker the mansion was almost entirely destroyed by fire in January, 1780. There are references to this fire in the Diaries of Jacob Hilsheimer, who related that the house was all destroyed but the first floor, and of Elizabeth Drinker, who makes a note of the same character. Mrs. Drinker added in her diary that the fire raged through a violent snowstorm, which continued through the day and night of the 2d of January, 1780.

Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, leased the ruins and the property after the fire, and at once began to rebuild the house, whose solid walls remained. He also made some improvements in the property and after living there for several years he purchased the estate in 1785 for £3750. In 1791 Morris had his counting house almost next to his property at what is now No. 510. This building still stands, although another story has been added to it and it has been materially modified in character.

When it was decided that the capital of the country should be removed from New York to Philadelphia, the City Council began to look around them for a suitable residence for the President, and later the State of Pennsylvania started upon an important building at Ninth

SOUTHEAST CORNER OF SIXTH AND MARKET STREETS, 1795

In the house at the left Washington and Adams resided while Presidents of the United States. Robert Morris lived in the corner building

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CHRISTIAN FEBIGER

An officer in the Revolution and Treasurer of Pennsylvania

and Market streets, intending to place it at the disposal of the President, but that structure was not finished while Washington was in office. The dwelling of Robert Morris, one of the finest and most centrally located residences in the city, was offered for the purpose, and Washington was pleased to accept it as his executive mansion. The agreement was that Washington was to pay $3000 a year rent, which alone will give an idea of the character of the property. No other mansion in the city at the time commanded such a rental.

From December, 1790, until March, 1797, Washington resided here, excepting for the intervals at Mt. Vernon, and the periods of the yellow fever epidemics, when the President exiled himself from the city. Fortunately we have Washington's own description of the house as he found it.

> "The house of Robert Morris" (he wrote to Tobias Lear, his private secretary), "had, previous to my arrival, been taken by the corporation for my residence. It is the best they could get; it is, I believe, the best single house in the city, yet without additions it is inadequate to the commodious accommodation of my family. These additions, I believe, will be made.
>
> "The first floor contains only two public rooms (except one for the upper servants); the second floor will have two public (drawing) rooms, and, with the aid of one room with a partition in it, the back room will be sufficient for the accommodation of Mrs. Washington and the children and their maids, besides affording her a small place for a private study and dressing room. The third story will furnish you and Mrs. Lear with a good lodging room, a public office—for there is no room below for one—and two rooms for the gentlemen of the family.
>
> "The garret has four rooms, which must serve Mr. and Mrs. Hyde, unless they should prefer the room over the workhouse (doubtless the washhouse in the plan; Mr. Hyde was the butler), also William and such servants, as it may not be better to place in the proposed additions to the back building. There is a room over the stable which may serve the coachman and postillions, and there is a smokehouse, which may possibly be more valuable for the use of the servants than the smoking of meats.
>
> "The intention of the addition to the back building is to provide a servants' hall and one or two lodging rooms for the servants. There are good stables, but for 12 horses only, and a coach house which will hold all my carriages. Speaking of carriages, I have left my coach to receive a thorough repair by the time I return, which I expect will be before the first of December."

Everything was arranged and Washington, having returned to the city early in December, 1790, gave his first levee on Christmas Day, a function that was attended by the best society in Philadelphia, as well as by the Diplomatic Corps and officialdom generally.

It would not be possible here to follow Washington's occupancy of the historic mansion on Market street, nor to attempt to recount the historic incidents occurring there; neither is it necessary to relate more of John Adams' occupancy of the house than to say that he accepted the house as his executive mansion while he was President and the capital was in Philadelphia. While he was Vice-President Adams boarded at Francis' Hotel on Fourth street, for several years. Upon his inauguration he moved into the old mansion on Market street, which

had by that time passed out of the possession of Morris, the financier having sold it for $37,000 in 1795 to Andrew Kennedy. Adams remained a resident until the spring of 1800, when the capital was removed to Washington.

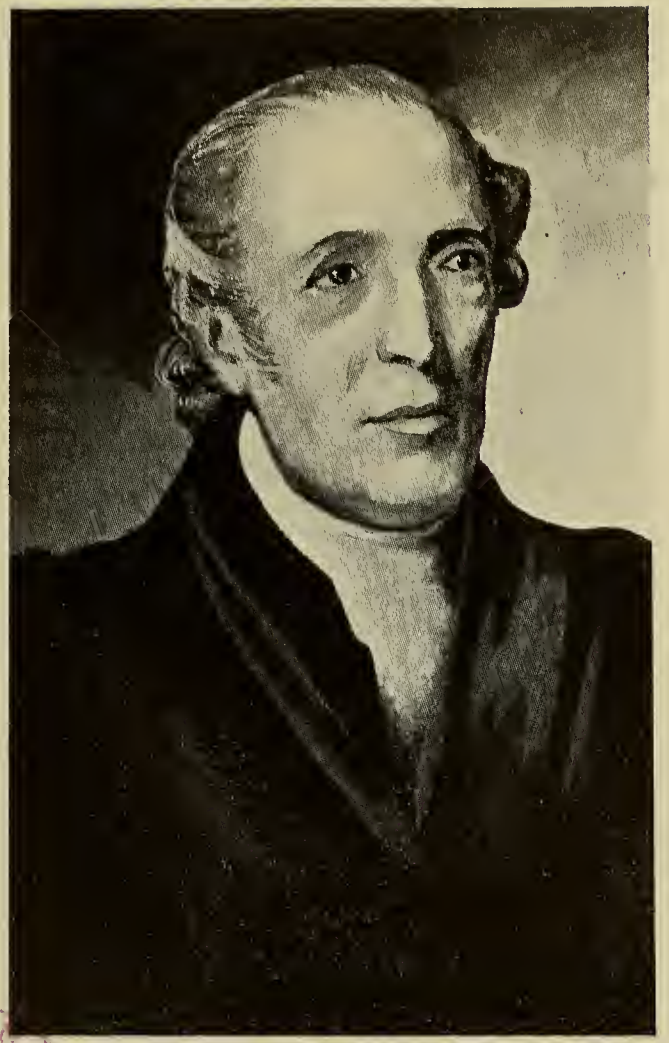
John Francis, who had conducted a large boarding house on Fourth street, took the house as soon as Adams left, and opened it as Francis' Union Hotel. Several large banquets were held there during the two years Francis conducted the hotel. One of these was a subscription dinner given on March 4, 1801, in honor of the inauguration of President Jefferson. This dinner was given by the Republicans to commemorate their overwhelming defeat of the Federalists. In November, 1802, Governor McKean, who had been triumphantly re-elected Governor of Pennsylvania, was the guest of honor at a banquet held at Francis' Union Hotel. Francis' the next year went back to Fourth street, and the old house soon became tenanted by business firms.

The old house was not removed until 1832, when the property once more changed hands, and the new owners demolished the building and erected three stores, which still stand. It is said that some of the old walls remain, but certainly the front has been entirely altered and rebuilt.

After Morris had moved out of the mansion to make way for Washington, he went to the southeast corner of Sixth and Market streets to live. At the same time he had his counting house at 510 for a year or two, but in 1793 we find he had both home and counting house at the corner. The directory gives his address as 1 South Sixth street, and from Poulson's picture of the place it appears that he lived at the corner and had his office in a back building. The next year, and until 1797, his office or counting house is given in the directories as 227 High street, which was on the site of the present 529, on the north side of Market street. Sometimes the residence address is given as 192 High street and sometimes as 1 South Sixth street, but evidently they were the same corner building.

Morris spent the years 1797 and 1798 in the Debtor's Prison at Sixth and Locust streets, having become involved in the schemes of John Nicholson and James Greenleaf. His name does not appear in the directory for the year 1798, and the next year we find Morris living on Chestnut street, "near Seventh." Then for a few years he is found living on Walnut street above sixth, and in 1805 and 1806, in which year Morris died, he was living at 2 South Twelfth street.

The dwelling at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market streets, in which Robert Morris lived for several years, and which he owned, was erected just prior to the Revolution by Joseph Galloway, the Tory lawyer and Speaker of the Assembly. Galloway became so closely identified with the British cause that when the King's troops left the



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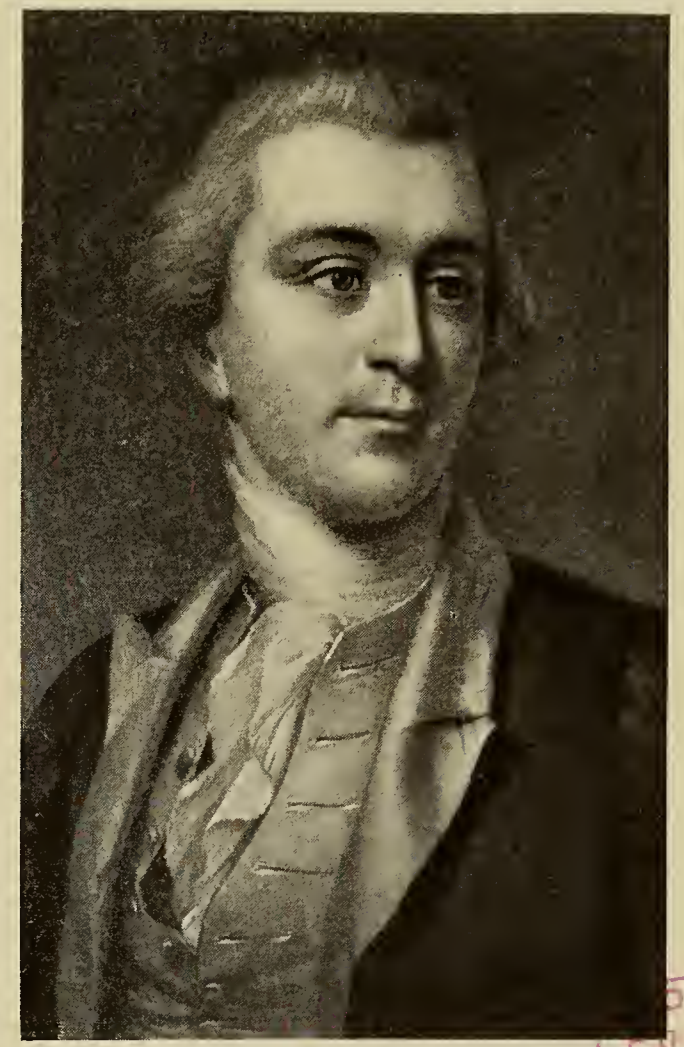
ALEXANDER HENRY, SR.
Eminent merchant and philanthropist
Grandfather of Mayor Henry



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GENERAL JOSEPH REED
Distinguished officer in the Revolution
President of Pennsylvania, 1778–1781

city he found it convenient to follow them. His residence, having been confiscated by the State, seems to have been used as an executive mansion for the President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State, which was the administrative body of the Commonwealth during the Revolution. Consequently we find Joseph Reed accredited to this corner while he was President of Pennsylvania, from 1778 to 1781; then William Moore, as president, lived there until 1782, and he was followed by John Dickinson, who was President of Pennsylvania from 1782 until October, 1785.

All of these executives were men of influence and eminence in their time. Dickinson, of course, has made his name historic by his "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer," which, written some years before the struggle for independence actually began, foreshadowed trouble if the British did not make any attempt to understand what the Americans desired and what they would not suffer. He also was the author of the first American patriotic song, which was written to the air of "Hearts of Oak," and had great vogue. Some recent historians of American music have referred to this song as an anonymous production and have accredited its first appearance to a Massachusetts newspaper. As a matter of fact, it not only was written by Dickinson, but it first appeared in Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*. It was afterward copied into newspapers throughout the colonies.

Franklin was elected President of Pennsylvania in October, 1785, and as he had his own residence in Franklin's court he did not occupy the executive mansion, but remained at home. The difference in the two directories of Philadelphia, which were printed within a short time of each other in the fall of 1785, in their designation of the President of Pennsylvania, shows conclusively which of the directories was first issued. Collectors and others have claimed precedence for each of these books. But the fact, if nothing else was known, that MacPherson's directory prints John Dickinson's name as President, shows that it must have been issued before the election of October 18th of that year. White's directory prints Franklin's name as the head of the Supreme Executive Council, and consequently could not have been published until after the election, and, of course, subsequent to the directory of MacPherson.

Before we leave this square we should not neglect to say a few words about another resident, Alexander Henry. Henry, who was a native of Ireland, came to this city when he was about twenty years of age, or in 1783. He entered as a clerk in a dry goods establishment and soon acquired a knowledge of the business, his abilities being so marked that within two months after his start here he found himself superintendent of a branch of the house, created for him. He started in business on his own account within a few years, and as an importer

of dry goods he soon made a fortune and retired while still a young man. The call of business, however, was too strong to be neglected and again he entered an active mercantile career, but finally retired in 1818 to devote himself to philanthropic and church work.

He was the first President of the American Sunday School Union, was President of the Presbyterian Board of Education and of the House of Refuge. In 1801 he was a resident of 225, now 527, Market street, on the north side of the street. He was the grandfather of Alexander Henry, who was Mayor of Philadelphia during the Civil War.

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CHAPTER XIV

SIXTH STREET TO SEVENTH—SCHUYLKILL BANK—JOHN WANAMAKER—DR. PRIESTLEY, ROBERT PINE AND CHARLES BIDDLE

As soon as John Dickinson's term as President of the Supreme Executive Council expired in October, 1785, he left the house at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market streets and a new tenant moved in in the person of Robert Edge Pine, an English painter, who became so enthusiastic concerning the success of the Americans in their struggle for independence that he crossed the Atlantic especially with a view to paint historical pictures of events of the Revolution and to make portraits of the chief actors in that national drama.

Pine, after having corresponded with John Vaughan and Samuel Vaughan, who were his friends, came to this country some time in the summer or fall of the year 1784. In November of that year an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Packet* notes that at that time he was painting in the Congress chamber of the old State House, which had been placed at his disposal for his studies for his painting of "The Congress Voting Independence," a painting which, having been completed by Edward Savage after Pine's death, is now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The painting was discovered in Boston about twenty years ago by Charles Henry Hart, who has published virtually all that is known of the painter's career in this country.

Pine seems to have been received with a great deal of attention upon his arrival in this city. He soon made the acquaintance of Robert Morris, whose portrait among those of other great Americans he painted at this time; and Morris, being the owner of the building at Sixth and Market streets, placed it at Pine's disposal as soon as Dickinson moved out. This is shown by the same evidence that proves the anterior date of MacPherson's directory. Pine's name does not appear in MacPherson's directory for 1785, but in White's directory, which appeared a week later, the painter is set down as residing at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market streets.

How long he remained there is not known. It is asserted by Mr. Hart that Morris erected or altered a building for Pine in which he could exhibit his paintings at 9 North Eighth street. By the time the directory of 1791 was published Pine had been dead for two years, but in it we find Mary Pine, living at 9 North Eighth street. Although it

seems to be well established that Pine died here suddenly of apoplexy on November 19, 1788, it is not now known where his remains were interred. None of the records of burial grounds so far examined has thrown any light on the subject.

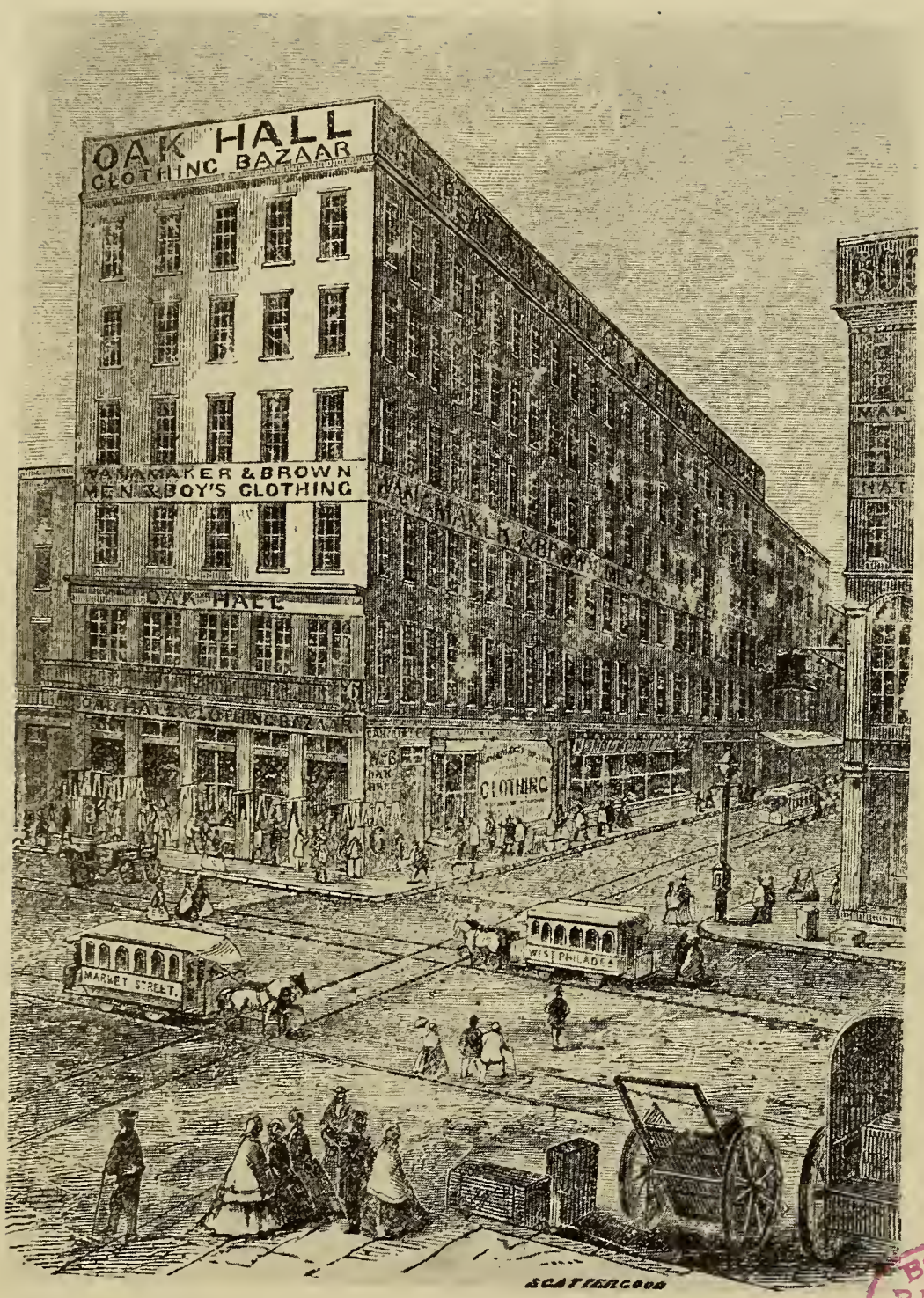
Robert Morris occupied the corner building at Sixth and Market streets as his residence from 1791 to 1795, in which year Robert Kid, at that time described as a perfumer, was dwelling there. In 1801 Kid is described in the directory as a copper merchant. After he left the corner the premises were taken over by the Schuylkill Bank, which institution was organized in 1814.

The Schuylkill Bank had a short but exciting career in Philadelphia finance. Its early years, it is true, seem to have been commonplace enough, but its departure from the scene was as theatrical as anything in the nature of a looted bank ever has been. Chartered in 1814 for a period of ten years, in 1824 the bank charter was extended to 1837, when again it was further extended, but never ran its course. In December, 1838, its doors were closed by injunction on account of a suit that was begun against the institution by the Bank of Kentucky, which the Schuylkill Bank represented here as its agent. In 1838 it was decided to transfer this agency from the Schuylkill Bank to the Bank of the United States, and it was charged that during this transfer a large amount of fraudulent shares of the stock of the Bank of Kentucky had been transferred in place of good stock. The Bank of Kentucky brought suit against its agent, and the Schuylkill Bank replied that it was not responsible, but its cashier and another subordinate employe were. This answer did not satisfy the Court and the Schuylkill Bank was closed while the suit was thrashed out in the courts.

At the same time the cashier, Hosea J. Levis, was charged with the fraud, and, although convicted, he went to Europe. He afterward returned to this country, but never was prosecuted further. The courts sustained the complaint of the Bank of Kentucky, and in paying the amount necessary to settle the claim all the funds of the Schuylkill Bank were used. Depositors and stockholders found there was nothing left. The case was in the courts for a long period, but in 1840 the bank finally wound up its affairs.

Some years after the Schuylkill Bank went out of business the building was replaced by a store property six stories in height, and on account of its height, probably at the time the only six-story store structure in the city, it was called McNeill's Folly, after the name of its owner.

In 1861 the property, or at least a small part of it, was taken over by a new firm of young men, John Wanamaker and Nathan Brown. They opened the place as a clothing store they called Oak Hall, and immediately began to make Philadelphia know they were in business



WHERE JOHN WANAMAKER BEGAN BUSINESS

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This picture is from an advertisement on the cover of the directory for 1865, and shows "Oak Hall" as it then appeared.

by taking all the money that came in the first day, with the exception of 67 cents, and laying it out in advertising the next morning. The new firm believed in advertising, for its senior member, Mr. Wanamaker, had seen the fruits of it in Colonel Bennett's Tower Hall, which was in the same block. But while Colonel Bennett held to one style of making his place known and said very little about his goods that inspired interest in his wares, the young firm began to say things about their clothing that was different. While Colonel Bennett called out in verse, Wanamaker & Brown stuck to prose, but never let their advertisements become prosy.

The new firm began to have policies which they did not hide under a bushel. Others may have had some of the same policies, but everybody did not know it, and Wanamaker & Brown did not want anyone to simply take them for granted; they told them. The City Directory for 1865 found the new firm's advertisement at the top of every page. Other advertisers had in a dilatory sort of way taken bottoms of the pages, and then only about half of them, but the new firm placed their advertisement on every page and at the top where no one could consult the book without seeing it. On the cover they had a picture of their building, and altogether they showed more enterprise than any of the older houses in the city.

The original building not only was added to in 1866, but a new iron front was erected on Market street and the adjoining buildings along Sixth street to Minor, now Ludlow street, were combined in the new structure. From $80,000 a year, the business done the first year, the sales had in the first five years increased to $500,000 annually, and it was this enormous increase that compelled the extension of the store. Indeed, two years after the opening of the store it was found necessary to add two adjoining properties on Sixth street, but in less than three years later the business had outgrown even these.

In 1785 Market street on both sides, between Sixth and Seventh, was fairly well built up. There were a few vacant lots on both sides, but the general character of the square was that of a well-built block. On the north side, the fifth house on the site of the present 609, lived Captain Budden, who may have been a son of that other Captain Budden, whose place in local history is connected with the State House bell and the chimes for Christ Church. These he is said to have brought over on his ship. The Liberty Bell arrived in 1753 and the following year Captain Budden brought over the chimes for Christ Church. It is said that he refused to be paid for carrying the chimes, and as a mark of gratitude thereafter it was for years customary to ring the chimes whenever Captain Budden's ship came into port.

On the south side of Market street in this square, in 1785, John Dunlap, the printer and publisher, lived in a house that stood on the

site of the present 638. In the same block at this time lived at about the present 612 David Kennedy, Secretary of the Land Tax, and next to the corner at Sixth, at 602, dwelt Israel Whelen, merchant and financier, whom we have already mentioned.

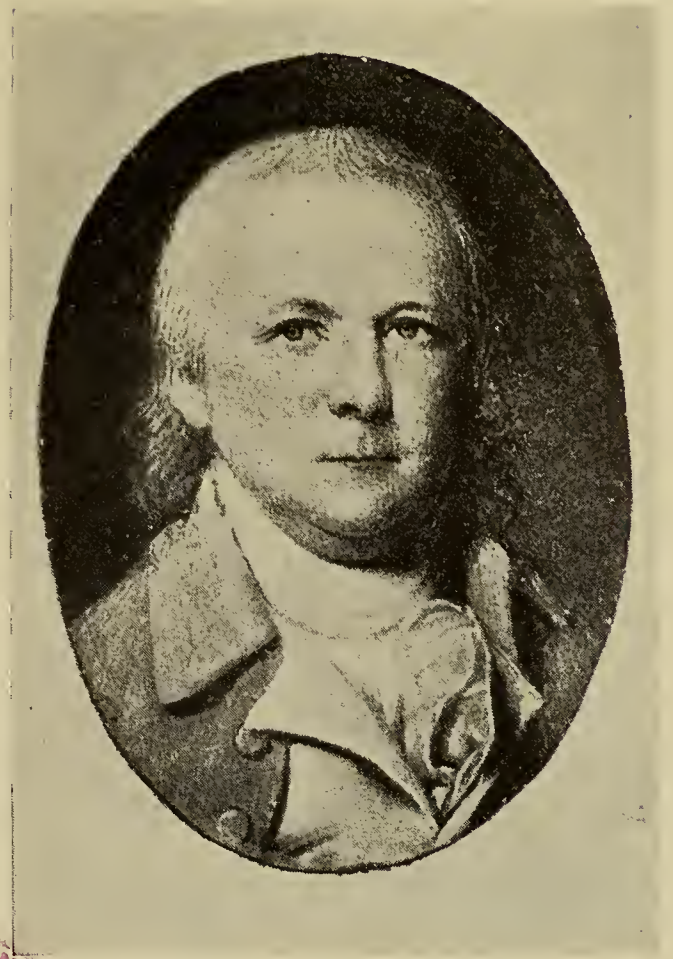
At the west corner of what used to be Decatur street and now is called Marshall street stood, until a few years ago, the old mansion of William Turner, gentleman. This old house was standing as far back as 1785 and probably dated from the close of the Revolution.

In 1795 Baltzer Clymer, a carter, had his stables and house in this thoroughfare, then known as Clymer's alley, but whether it derived its name from this carter or from George Clymer, the merchant and signer of the Declaration of Independence who had his place of business across the street on the north side, cannot be learned.

Some time between 1785 and 1791 Charles Biddle, who was the father of Nicholas Biddle, afterward President of the Second Bank of the United States, moved into the dwelling at what now would be 611 Market street. Charles Biddle was one of the remarkable men of his time in Philadelphia. He led an adventurous life from his youth, and he left a most entertaining autobiography, which was privately printed in 1883. Biddle went to sea when he was a lad, and, indeed, having devoured the interesting pages of "Roderick Random," was inclined to a seafaring life. He was an experienced mariner, and when he became a man rose to be the commander of a vessel. The whole Spanish Main was as familiar to him as Market street. He was a friend of Graydon, the memoir writer, and was known to everybody in the city worth the knowing. He was present in the State House yard on July 8, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was read for the first time in public, and has left one of the four contemporary accounts of that historic event.

He was elected vice-president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and retained that office until the Constitution of 1790 made a change in the government of the Commonwealth. He then became Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, although this office was so long on the way getting to him that he was contemplating taking a ship and once again turning to the sea.

It was to Charles Biddle's home, then on Chestnut street near Fourth, that Aaron Burr came after his fatal duel with Alexander Hamilton in 1804. Biddle was friendly to Burr and did not believe all the partisan newspapers of the period were printing about that misunderstood man. It is not possible here to do justice to a career so romantic and so filled with incident as that of Charles Biddle, but the reader who is fortunate enough to possess his autobiography will find that memoirs of a man who has taken a real part in the world is very lively and entertaining reading.



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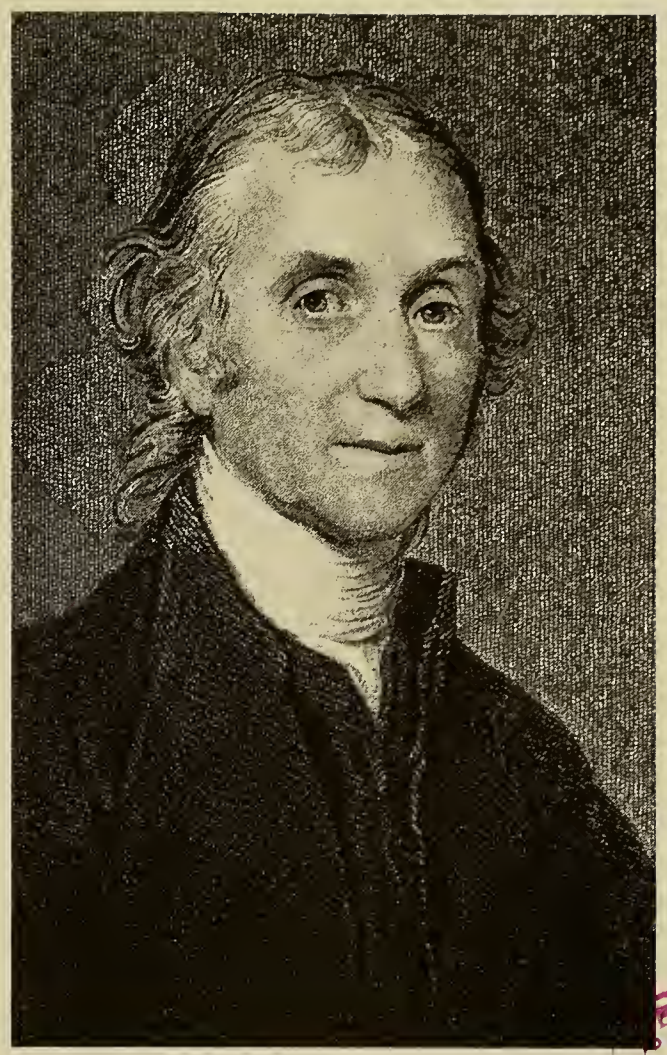
CHARLES BIDDLE
Prothonotary of Court of Common Pleas and author of an autobiography



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JOSEPH PRIESTLEY
Discoverer of oxygen, philosopher, theologian and politician

Charles Biddle, who was born in 1745, lived to a good old age, dying in 1821. Next door to him on Market street lived his eldest brother, James Biddle, who was a lawyer, a member of the Philadelphia Bar, but who for some years was a practicing attorney in Berks, Lancaster and Northampton Counties. He was appointed Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia in 1788, and in 1791 was appointed President Judge of the First Judicial District of Pennsylvania. It was upon his retirement from the office of Prothonotary that Governor Mifflin appointed Charles Biddle to the vacancy, although the latter was not a lawyer and admitted that he knew nothing of the workings of the office. James Biddle died in 1797.

In recalling James Biddle it is interesting to include mention of the fact that he was a vestryman of Christ Church and was present at the meeting on July 4, 1776, when it was resolved to "omit those petitions in the Liturgy wherein the King of Great Britain is prayed for."

At that time the Declaration had not been adopted, but it was the general impression that Congress would make such a declaration.

On the south side of Market street, in the same square, in 1791 we find that at what now would be numbered 614 Francis White, broker, had his office. White's claim to attention here arises from the fact that he printed a directory of the city in 1785. The idea was evidently not original with him, but was founded upon the knowledge that Captain John MacPherson was bringing out such a guide. MacPherson's book appeared about a week before White's and was the first directory published in this country and probably before a regular reference book of the kind had appeared anywhere else.

On the site of 606, in 1791, Michael Hay kept an inn, with the sign of The Thistle hanging in front of the place. He was a brother of Peter Hay, who lived to be ninety-one years of age, and was probably best remembered here as Alderman Hay. Peter Hay was an officer in the War of 1812, and for years was the editor of the *American Sentinel,* a daily, that originally, when first issued in 1811, was published twice a week. Hay was the editor of the paper from the beginning and until near the time when it was merged with the *Evening Bulletin* in 1847.

Michael Hay, with another brother, John, emigrated to the West about 1793 and settled in Ohio. The late Secretary of State John Hay was a descendant of Michael Hay's brother John. In 1795 The Thistle was kept by George Strayle and in the early part of the last century the inn was known as the Red Lion and in 1850 it was kept by J. C. Wister. It is probable that this was the same inn that was known as the Blue Ball in 1785.

In the same square, occupying the properties now numbered 624 and 626, stood the Farmers' Hotel in 1850, when it was managed by

S. M. Ramsey & Co. This house was kept by George Weed in 1795, and in 1801 by Jacob Tomlinson. Both of these old inns passed away about fifty years ago.

Next to The Thistle, in 1795, at what would now be 604, lived Samuel A. Ottis, secretary of the United State Senate. At the southeast corner of Seventh and Market streets in 1801 David Kennedy, a carver and gilder, had his place. Later in the century Kennedy was associated with another under the firm-name of Kennedy & Lucas, and they kept what was called a looking-glass store, where mirrors, picture frames and pictures were sold. Kennedy and Lucas opened the first lithographic establishment in Philadelphia in 1828. It was from their place that the original lithographic plates for Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia" were made. They also made a few other lithographs, but within a short time appear to have sold out to Col. Cephas G. Childs.

Next to the corner, in 1795, lived Daniel Brodhead, Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania from 1789 to 1800.

On the north side of Market street, between Sixth and Seventh streets, Dr. John Priestley dwelt during the few months he resided in Philadelphia, but there is no clue to the exact situation of his house. The nearest thing to placing it is to be found in a passage of Twining's "Travels." Describing a visit to the Doctor in 1796, Thomas Twining wrote in his journal:

> Proceeded to Doctor Priestley's house in the upper end of High street, in a row of small houses between Sixth and Seventh streets, remarkable for their pleasant appearance, standing back a few yards from the footpath, painted rails before them. I had not seen such an appearance of neatness and comfort since my arrival in Philadelphia, and experienced pleasure in finding that it was here that the English philosopher, the benefactor of his country and of mankind by his discoveries in useful science, had taken up his abode.
>
> Having passed through the garden of one of the houses, the door was opened by a female servant, who, saying that the Doctor was at home, conducted us into a small room by the side of the passage, looking toward the street. Here I expected to find the Doctor, but found only his sister, who desired the maid to let her master know that Doctor Ross (his companion) was come.

Priestley, after coming to this country in 1794, stayed for a short time in New York. Later he came to Philadelphia, but his residence here was less than a year, and he managed in that time to escape being listed in the directories. Consequently we have no means of locating the site of his dwelling. The Doctor had suffered considerably through his liberalism in England. His meeting house in Birmingham was burned by a mob which also destroyed his dwelling and his library. He was virtually driven out of England and came to this country to find an asylum. He was a scientist as well as a philosopher, and the founder of Unitarianism in this country. He is mainly distinguished, however, by his discovery of oxygen. He went to Northumberland, Pa., and remained there until his death.

His brief residence in Philadelphia may be said to have been little more than a long visit, for he spent the greatest part of his American career in Northumberland. As there was a widow, Mrs. Susannah Stanley, who kept a boarding house in this square at the time of Priestley's visit in 1796, it is possible that Twining is not to be taken literally when he speaks of Dr. Priestley's house. It may refer to the place where he boarded quite as well as to a house rented by him. If this surmise is correct, Dr. Priestley lived on the site of the present 607 Market street, for that was the site of Mrs. Stanley's boarding house. Later on we find Mrs. Stanley, who had moved to the site of 603, rented offices to Joseph Reed and Thomas B. Zantzinger, who were prominent lawyers and men of influence in the city and state.

This Joseph Reed is not so well remembered by history as either his father, General Reed, who, in addition to holding many positions, was for three years during the Revolution President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State, or his own son, William B. Reed, a lawyer of eminence, whose defense of his grandfather's good name against the errors of Bancroft, the historian, may be recalled. Yet Joseph Reed, who had an office in Mrs. Stanley's house on Market street in 1801, was a lawyer of considerable reputation in his time. He was a graduate of Princeton, and from 1800 to 1809 was Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of the State and in 1810 was Attorney-General of the State. From 1810 until 1829 he was Recorder of Philadelphia, an office that was abolished forty-five years ago.

In the fourth house from Seventh, on the north side of Market street, dwelt, in 1791, and until his death in 1796, Christian Febiger, one of the most remarkable men connected with the American armies during the Revolution. Of probably no other soldier in that struggle could it be said—or if of any, they were not numerous—that he had been present at nearly all the important engagements, from Bunker Hill to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Yet this was nothing but a part of the history of Febiger, who at the time he resided on Market street was Treasurer of Pennsylvania.

He was a native of Denmark and after holding a subaltern's commission in the Danish army, came to America when his father was appointed Governor of Santa Cruz, and went to Boston, where he engaged in trading between that port and the West Indies. He was in this trade when the Revolution broke. When he learned the news from Lexington he sold his ship and offered his services to the Committee of Safety in Boston. He was commissioned lieutenant and took a distinguished part in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Although he was a young man at the time, he had received training in the military art and was reputed to have been an excellent engineer. His gallantry in action and his experience and training obtained for

him a reputation at Bunker Hill as the gallant Danish soldier. Subsequently he joined the force under Arnold that with Montgomery made the attempt upon Canada with such distressing results. He was at Stony Point, too, and it was Colonel Febiger who took Colonel Johnson, who commanded Stony Point, prisoner. He was in command of the force that covered the retreat of the American Army through New Jersey. At the battles of Brandywine, Trenton and Monmouth he was under fire and was with the army during that fateful winter at Valley Forge.

Yet many well-informed persons never have heard of Febiger. He was highly regarded by his associates, and Congress brevetted him Brigadier-General, but he declared that in this country the title of Colonel was more than in keeping with a man who was engaged in trade and he never used his higher title. He was the auctioneer for the Northern Liberties, and finally Treasurer of Pennsylvania. From 1792 until 1794, when he resigned on account of failing health, he was Captain of the First City Troop, having been the fourth commander that organization had.

The original lots on the north side of Market street, from Sixth to Seventh, extended half-way to Arch, or Mulberry street, as it was then known. About the middle of the eighteenth century a narrow street, first called Sugar alley, then Farmer's alley, in recognition of Richard Farmer, who owned much of the Market street property that bounded it on the south, was cut through. Latterly this avenue, which boasts of a breadth of fourteen feet, has been known as Filbert street. It was on the north side of Sugar alley, on property which had a front on Seventh street, that the first buildings for the first United States Mint were erected in 1792. The mint proper, or coinage house, at that time was really built on the back part of the Seventh street lots, 37 and 39 North Seventh street. But a narrow property on Sugar alley adjoining was also part of the site.

In those days the United States Mint was a rather modest establishment. This may be imagined when it is known that Congress had proudly enacted two months before property for a mint had been bought, that after a sum of not less than fifty thousand dollars had been coined in cents and half cents, and had been paid into the Treasury, no other copper coins should pass as currency. It was not until January, 1800, that Elias Boudinot, the then Director of the Mint, reported that there had been coined and paid into the Treasury fifty thousand one hundred and eleven dollars and forty-two cents, in cents.

The Mint was so small and evidently so uninteresting to the Philadelphians that map makers of 1800 who indicated public buildings on their plans of the city did not think it worth while to show the location of the only currency factory in the country. Yet the value of the Mint and its necessity was so clearly comprehended and appreciated

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by the country's leaders, including President Washington while he was in office, that the best-fitted scientist in America, David Rittenhouse, was selected as first Director of that department of the Federal Government. Rittenhouse resided at the northwest corner of Seventh and Arch streets, and as he received his appointment some weeks before the properties were purchased, it is not unlikely that he suggested the site for the buildings, and the day after the transfer was made work on construction followed. A distillery owned by Michael Shubert had occupied the Sugar alley (or Filbert street) lot a few years before, and this was immediately removed. In another month the frame work of the Mint was up.

For forty years this small plant made all the coinage of the United States. Within a few years after the coinage house was erected, other buildings were built for the Mint offices on the front of the Seventh street lots. The properties were bought by the Frank H. Stewart Electric Company about ten years ago. On the site a fine building of modern type has replaced the gray, plastered walls of the old Mint. Mr. Stewart, who has been most industrious in his researches, gathered into a valuable pamphlet a comprehensive brief of title to the properties, extending back to 1699, the time William Penn deeded them to the Pennsylvania Land Company for £2000. They were part of "Six inland city lots, lying between the two rivers." For the two lots the Government paid four thousand two hundred and sixty-six and two-thirds dollars, subject to yearly ground rent of twenty-one Spanish pieces of eight.

Nearly all of the United States coins valued so highly for their rarity by numismatists were made in this Mint. One of the rarest, of course, is the 1804 dollar. The first regular coinage of copper was begun in 1793; silver coinage was started in 1794, and the minting of gold in 1795. Trial or experimental pieces were coined before these dates. The first actual coins were the Washington silver "dismes" and "half dismes" in 1792. They take their name from the fact that Washington, who took a great interest in the Mint, furnished the silver bullion for them. Owing to the hardness of the copper obtained for coinage of cents, the dies constantly cracked or got out of repair and to this reason is due the great variety of cents of the same year date, particularly that of 1794.

CHAPTER XV

SEVENTH AND MARKET STREETS, WHERE JEFFERSON WROTE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence in a house that formerly stood at the southwest corner of Seventh and Market streets, and that fact itself should make the block from Seventh street to Eighth one of the most historic squares in the city. It would be no straining for effect to assert, in view of the almost universal acceptance of the philosophy and principles contained in that great paper, that in time to come the site will be regarded as the most historic in the world. No manifesto ever issued by a people has had the far-reaching effects of the Declaration adopted in Philadelphia by the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776. Although nearly a century and a half have elapsed since that time, the democratic dogma pronounced in that document continues bearing fruit, and now the only remaining autocracies on earth are in their death struggles.

The author of the Declaration, who had been born at Shadwell, Virginia, in 1743, at the time of writing that paper was in his thirty-fourth year. That so young a man should have been selected out of so incomparable an assemblage of able men, including one so eminent as Franklin, to compose a state paper which could not fail to attract the attention of the world, is not inexplicable. It was Jefferson who wrote the "Instructions to Delegates" at the Virginia Convention, although illness prevented him from appearing in that assemblage. In no uncertain tones these instructions declare that such allegiance as the Colonists showed to the King of England was in the nature of a natural right of choice and not based on any principle of the British Constitution or because the colonists emigrated from Great Britain. Nearly all the important papers and resolutions adopted by the Virginia House of Burgesses and other political assemblies in that colony during this period will be found to have been from the pen of Jefferson.

He was, beyond all doubt, the most widely-read man in the Continental Congress. He came to Philadelphia with the reputation of a writer of state papers that had the right thought and more—papers that were brilliant with ringing sentences. Jefferson daily read in Greek, Latin, French and Italian, as well as in English, the works of the greatest philosophers, historians and commentators. This circumstance accounts for the presence in the Declaration of one of the most

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lingering phrases that has been incorporated in any of our state papers. Who does not recall the phrase: "These colonies are, and of right, ought to be, free and independent States."? Professor Dunning, of Columbia University, some years ago began a hunt to establish its genealogy and managed to trace it back to the time of Pope Boniface VIII, whom he found, writing to Philip the Fair, of France, about 1300, that the French lied when they, in their pride, said they had no superior, "for of right they were and ought to be subject to the Roman King and the Emperor." Dr. James Sullivan in his study of "The Antecedents of the Declaration of Independence," has shown that three of the ideas in that historic document were known to the world by Cicero's time (106–43 B. C.). "These were," he states, "first, the conscious instituting of government by men, held by Protagoras, the Sophists, and the Epicureans; second, the equality of men—an idea advanced by the Stoics; and third, the idea of natural rights developed by Cicero." But it was in the Declaration written by Jefferson that these ideas were first combined.

Virginia favored independence and Jefferson not only understood the sentiments of his people, but he had given them form in words, and there is perhaps good reason to believe that he was sent to Congress by Virginia for the purpose of composing the paper which it was inevitable should be demanded.

He arrived in Philadelphia for the first time on June 20, 1775, and took lodgings with Benjamin Randolph, a cabinet maker, who probably was related to him, and whose place of business was in Chestnut street, between Third and Fourth. He stopped with Randolph when he came to the city again, and usually took his meals at the City Tavern, in Second street, north of Walnut. Randolph was one of the original members of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry, and served with that command during 1776. He was made an honorary member of the organization the following year and thenceforth drops from sight, so far as records of his subsequent career are concerned. However, he is a historic personage, for he made the desk upon which Jefferson wrote the Declaration. He did not design the piece of furniture, but fabricated it from drawings made by Jefferson.

Within less than a week after Jefferson had taken his seat in Congress he was placed on the Committee to draw up a declaration of the causes for taking up arms. At the same time John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, was added to the Committee. Dickinson for some years prior to the actual outbreak of hostilities had written the important resolutions and other state papers adopted by the Revolutionary bodies here. He still clung to the hope that justice might be done the Colonies and that a happy reconciliation would follow. Consequently the strong, defiant attitude assumed in the draft of the declaration submitted by

Jefferson did not meet with Dickinson's approval, for no conservative, such as the Pennsylvanian was, would relish the clear-cut, decisive phrases of the young Virginian. Dickinson was asked by the Committee to change the draft to suit his views, and he did so, drawing all its teeth, and writing what virtually was a new statement save for the concluding paragraphs. The Committee reported it to Congress and it was accepted.

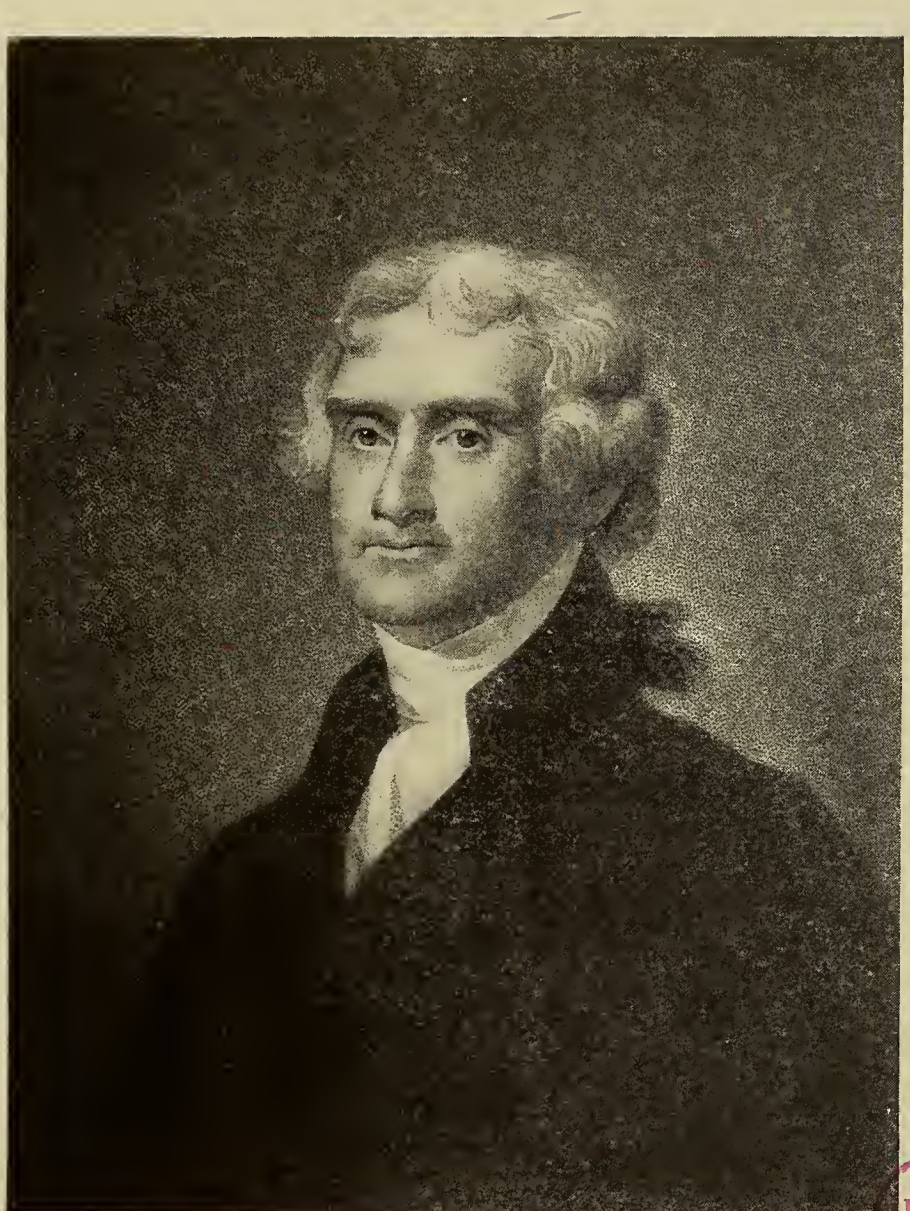
When, on July 22, 1775, Congress appointed a committee to consider and report on Lord North's "Conciliatory Proposition," Jefferson was selected by ballot as one of its members, and his colleagues, who were Franklin, John Adams and Richard H. Lee, asked Jefferson to prepare the report.

That Jefferson was the author of the Resolutions presented to Congress on June 7, 1776, which called for a specific Declaration of Independence seems to be not merely plausible but quite probable. These Resolutions were presented by Richard H. Lee, but they had been a part of the instructions to the Virginia delegates adopted by the Virginia Convention of May 15th. When Congress resolved, on June 11th, that a Committee to prepare a Declaration of Independence should consist of five members. These as usual were selected by ballot and Jefferson's name stood at the head of the Committee, the other members selected being John Adams, Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston. Jefferson's colleagues, knowing his facility of expression and his reputation for literature and science, selected him to draft the paper.

Jefferson arrived in Philadelphia again on May 15, 1776, and after spending eight days at Randolph's on May 23d, as appears by his account book, he "took lodgings at Graaf's," Seventh and Market streets. From the same source we learn that he paid a weekly rent of thirty-five shillings. He continued to dine at the City Tavern. It is inspiring to picture the scenes in the large second-story front apartment which Jefferson used as his sitting room, when the other members of the committee on reducing the sentiments of Lee's resolution into a declaration, gathered together in the young Virginian's quarters, and discussed with him what should and what should not go into the paper which was to have an effect that has not yet ceased re-echoing throughout the world.

There is very little in the way of authentic facts to guide one in reconstructing one of the meetings of the committee, but there is a well-known picture by Chapell, which, while naturally lacking authority, still answers the desire to see this group of men holding a conference over our greatest state paper.

Unfortunately, for the great part, the men engaged in gaining liberty for the American States did not keep any accurate record of their



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THOMAS JEFFERSON
Author of the Declaration of Independence

ADVERTISING CARD OF BENJAMIN RANDOLPH, ABOUT 1768

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It was in Randolph's house that Thomas Jefferson first lodged in Philadelphia, and its owner constructed the desk upon which the Declaration of Independence was written.

doings while they attended the Continental Congress in those stormy days. They were intent upon the serious purpose for which they were assembled, and did not seem to realize that they were making the kind of history that future generations wanted to see illustrated. No official action or meeting of theirs in those days is insignificant to the students of history in these.

Even Jefferson seems to have told different persons that he wrote the Declaration in at least two widely separated houses in Philadelphia. It is possible that he was misunderstood, but the fact remains that until about the time of the Centennial there was some dispute about the exact location of Jefferson's lodgings in June, 1776. It has been asserted that he wrote his most famous paper in the old Indian Queen Hotel, at Fourth and Market streets; a house on Chestnut street near Fourth (Randolph's) also was said to have been the place; and while the building that stood on the site of the Penn National Bank, at Seventh and Market streets, until 1883, was finally known to have been the correct location, there were claims made for a small building in the rear that was not erected until more than twenty years after the Declaration was adopted.

At the time Jefferson lodged at Seventh and Market streets the building, then a new one, was three and a half stories in height. The map of 1762 shows a building on the plot, but in 1775, when the corner was purchased from Dr. E. Physick by J. Graff, Jr., the latter erected a dwelling there. This house in 1776 is said to have been occupied by Mrs. Clymer, a name associated with that vicinity, although Jefferson has written that the owner of the house was the proprietor of his lodgings. The delegate from Virginia occupied the whole second floor. The back room was Jefferson's bedroom, and the apartment that opened upon Market street was his study or sitting room. In this latter chamber he wrote the drafts of the Declaration, and there, also, it is believed the other members of the committee met him in conference at various times.

Less than a year before Jefferson's death, Dr. James Mease, a local antiquary and historian, wrote to the ex-President and asked him for a statement locating the house in which he dwelt in June, 1776. The venerable sage of Monticello wrote in reply:

Monticello, Sept. 16, 1825.

Dear Sir:—It is not for me to estimate the importance of the circumstances concerning which your letter of the 8th makes inquiry. They prove, even in their minuteness, the sacred attachments of our fellow-citizens to the event of which the paper of July 4, 1776, was but the Declaration, the genuine effusion of the soul of our country at the time. Small things may, perhaps, like the relics of saints, help to nourish our devotion to this holy bond of our union and keep it longer alive and warm in our affections. This effect may give importance to circumstances, however small. At the time of writing that instrument I lodged in the house of a Mr. Gratz (Graff), a

new brick house, three stories high, of which I rented the second floor, consisting of a parlor and bedroom ready furnished. In that parlor I wrote habitually, and in it wrote that paper particularly.

So far, I state from written proof in my possession: The proprietor, Gratz (Graff), was a young man, son of a German, and then newly married. I think he was a bricklayer, and that his house was on the south side of Market street, probably between 7th and 8th streets, and if not the only house on that part of the street, I am sure there were few others near it. I have some idea that it was a corner house, but no other recollections throwing any light on the question, or worth communication. I will therefore, only add assurances of my great respect and esteem.

TH. JEFFERSON.

The owner of the property, Mr. Graff, was the father of Frederick Graff, later the engineer of the Fairmount Water Works, and whose monument may be seen in the gardens now in front of the Aquarium in Fairmount Park.

Until the early years of the last century the entrance to this building was on Seventh street, and it was then numbered 2. In 1795 the house was occupied by Thomas Hiltzheimer, son of the diarist, and it was the younger Hiltzheimer who, about 1796, erected the adjoining building on Market street, later numbered 702. About the same time Hiltzheimer erected a four-story building adjoining the corner structure on Seventh street. Jacob Hiltzheimer, whose diary is a mine of information, in 1795 dwelt across the street, at 1 South Seventh street, which was next to the corner.

In 1798, or about that year, the properties came into the possession of Simon and Hyman Gratz, about whom we have had something to say when we were considering Market street at Fourth. The Gratz Brothers altered the premises into a building suitable for their business. They added a fourth story, which was continued over the two properties, on Market street, and walled up the original entrance on Seventh street to the corner house. From that time until the group was demolished in 1883 to make room for the Penn National Bank, the buildings were used for commercial purposes.

When the Penn National Bank placed the bronze tablet in the wall of its building, at Seventh and Market streets, in 1884, to mark the site of the house where Jefferson lived and wrote the Declaration, the designer of the tablet either was unaware or neglected the fact that in the same building another noted man whose name is inseparably linked with the Declaration, either lived or had his office, probably he used it for both purposes. This was James Wilson, a signer of that great paper, who, in 1791, when he was an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was set down in the directory as having his house at 230 Market street. That was the old number for the corner house.

Wilson, whose remains were brought back to Philadelphia with ceremony on November 22, 1906, and deposited in a vault in Christ Churchyard, not only was one of the signers of that certificate of the

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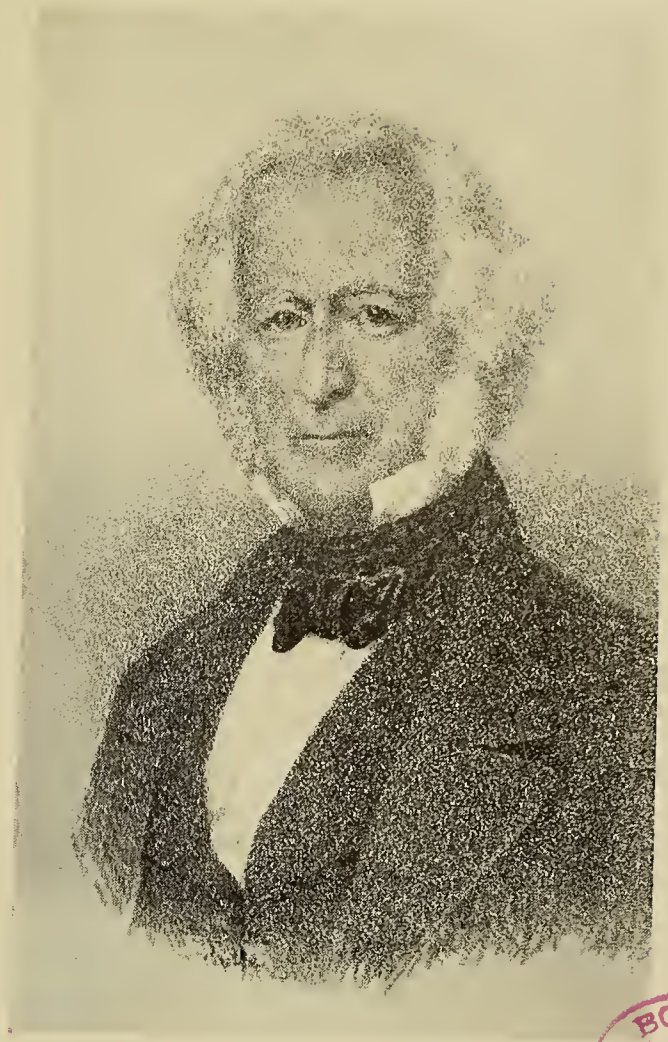
JACOB HILTZHEIMER
Diarist and prominent resident of Seventh and Market streets



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HYMAN GRATZ
Brother of Rebecca Gratz and once owner of the "Declaration House"

SOUTHWEST CORNER OF SEVENTH AND MARKET STREETS

In this building Jefferson lived when he wrote the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The structure was removed in 1883 to make room for the Penn National Bank.

nation's birth, but he was an active member of the conventions which brought forth the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Pennsylvania. Washington appointed him to the Supreme Court and he remained on the bench of that highest tribunal in this country until his death in 1798. Contemporaries have left several illuminating pictures of Judge Wilson, and while they have credited him with having been one of the great leaders of the Philadelphia Bar, they have not spoken so highly of him as a Justice of the Supreme Court. William Rawle, himself a great leader of the local bar a hundred years ago, in an address before the Associated Members of the Philadelphia Bar, in 1823, said, referring to Wilson: "It must, however, be confessed that Mr. Wilson on the bench was not equal to Mr. Wilson at the bar, nor did his law lectures entirely meet the expectation that had been formed."

In 1795 we find John Richards, a merchant, dwelling at 230, and in 1801 he had been succeeded in the same location by another merchant, Jacob Cox. Although the Gratzes owned the properties on the original lot they occupied with their place of business, the building next to Seventh, then numbered 232, and later 702. Just before the buildings were demolished, in 1883, this building was tenanted by Jordan Brothers, dealers in old books, whose dramatic career had not begun at this time. About five years ago the last members of this firm died. Their business card on Market street contained the assertion that it was in their building that Jefferson dwelt in 1776, which, of course, was erroneous.

CHAPTER XVI

SEVENTH STREET TO EIGHTH—GOVERNOR MIFFLIN—RAWLE—GENERAL CADWALADER—THE PEROTS—EARLY POTTERIES

Thomas Jefferson, in the letter quoted in the previous chapter, states that in 1776 Graff's house, where he had his lodgings, was not only isolated, but that he believed there were few other buildings in the same square. MacPherson's directory for 1785 mentions six residents of the square on the south side and notes that there were two other houses empty, while on the north side of the street, between Seventh and Eighth, but three residents were named. As these are so few in number, it may be of interest to give the names of persons living on both sides of Market street in that square in 1785.

On the south side, at what would be 706, Richard Rundle dwelt; at 708 (these numbers are the present ones of the sites), Jacob Carter; 710 and 712 are returned as "empty;" 716, Rebecca Shoemaker; 718, Benjamin Shoemaker; 722, Christopher Boyer, and 724, John Brayfield. The corner of Seventh street at that time was numbered on Seventh street, as the entrance was on that thoroughfare. On the north side of the street the residents were the Widow (Rachael) McCulloch, at 701; Thomas Murgatroyd, at 705, and Jeffry Garret, at 711. The Widow McCulloch resided in the house at the northwest corner of Seventh and Market streets, which building fronted on the latter thoroughfare. This structure was only torn down a few years ago to make way for the extension of Lit Brothers' store. Thirty years ago there was a printing shop in the second floor and the rest of the building was rented for various light manufacturing businesses.

There were half a dozen distinguished men who resided in this square during the last decade of the eighteenth century. At least some of them had offices here if they did not actually reside in the buildings, although it is probable that the addresses given in the early directories as being on Market street were the addresses of their winter homes as well as their offices.

In the house numbered 248 in 1791, and on the site of 718, Governor Thomas Mifflin dwelt. This was his home, and after he left it a few years later it became, in 1801, the home of General Thomas Cadwalader, attorney-at-law, who had not yet taken the Boudinot mansion at Ninth and Arch streets.

Governor Mifflin was another of the examples of Quakers who were

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of the greatest service to the patriots during the Revolution. While the Society of Friends did not approve of war, and while it did feel it incumbent upon the sect to drop such members as took up arms, nevertheless the Quakers probably were secretly grateful subsequently that some of these young men had cut themselves loose from meeting and had fought in defense of the liberties of their country.

Thomas Mifflin was one of the first to hear the news from Lexington. It was he who addressed so eloquently the meeting of Philadelphians that was held in response to the news from New England, and when he advised the crowd not to be fired with enthusiasm and determination that day and forget the crisis and cool off the next, he set it a powerful example by himself joining the military forces. He was one of the first aides-de-camp of Washington. He was quickly advanced in rank to brigadier-general, and was given command of the Pennsylvania troops. He came to the assistance of the Commander-in-Chief at Long Island, where his genius covered up the retreat of Washington's army in a fog, after the Americans had been severely beaten.

Pennsylvania and Philadelphia were proud of young Mifflin. They elected him to office after office, and he always proved their wisdom in selecting him. He was elected to succeed Franklin as President of the Supreme Executive Council in 1788, and under the new Constitution of 1790 he was elected Governor. That Constitution limited a Governor to three terms of three years each, and Mifflin was re-elected twice; and then, fearing to lose so good a man from the public service, the people sent him to the Assembly. But he did not live his full term, for he died in 1800. This remarkable man had a very checkered career so far as fortune played with him and was more than once reduced in circumstances. Indeed, his last days were clouded by poverty and the clamors of creditors, for with all his wisdom as a legislator and soldier and justice in his business with others, in his own affairs he was improvident.

In 1795 the Pennsylvania Land Office was next door to the Governor's home, the site of the present 720, which had been the residence of Ann Yorke, a widow, in 1791. Francis van Berckell, the Ambassador from Holland, resided in the house on the site of 728 in 1795, having removed from the square above Eighth, so it must be remembered that the Dutch Embassy at one time was on Market street. After the Dutch Ambassador removed, we find Benjamin Chew had his law office and no doubt his winter residence in the same house. He is thus set down in the directory for 1801. His summer home, of course, was the historic Chew House, Cliveden, Germantown, recalled as the scene of severe fighting during the Battle of Germantown.

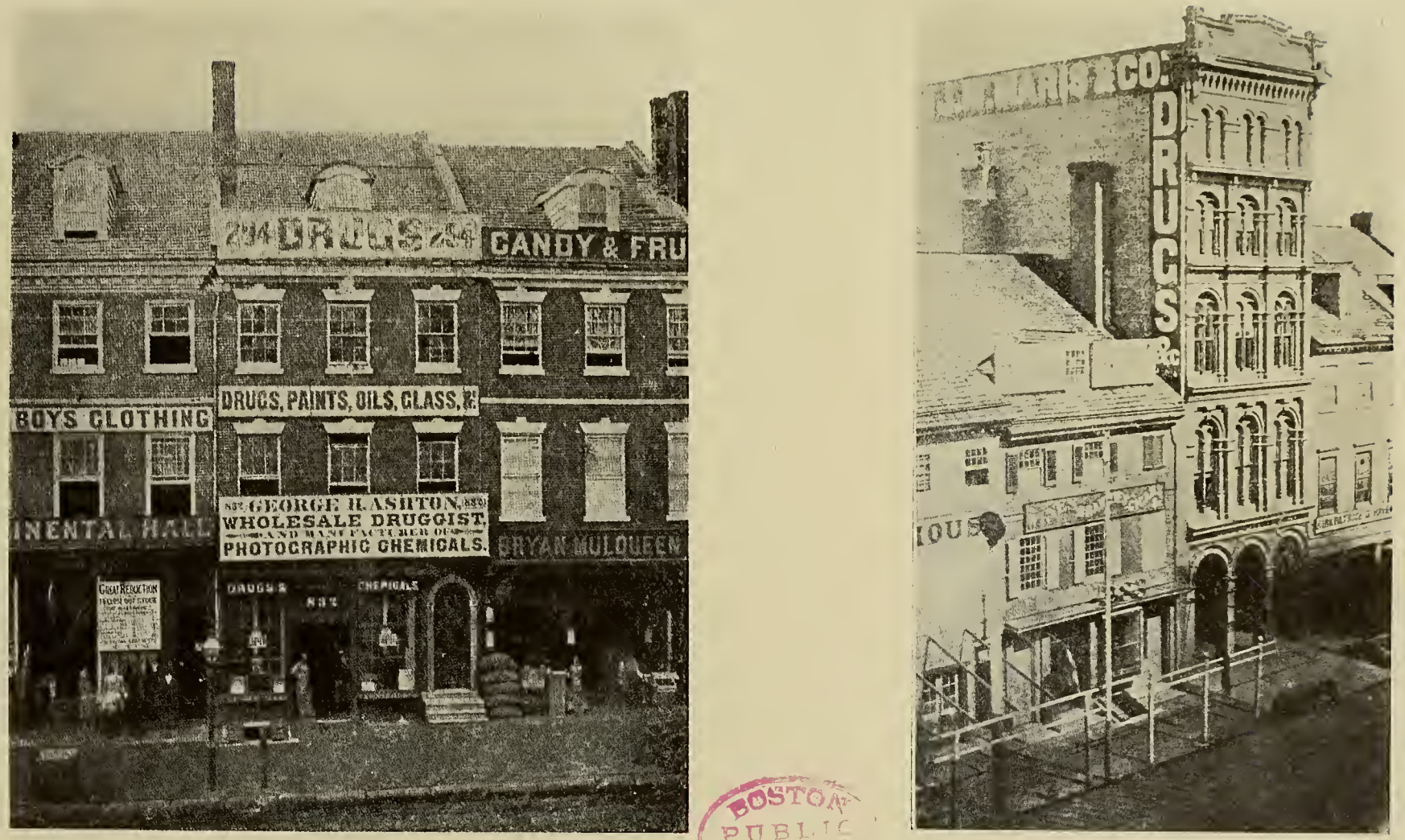
With such men as Governor Mifflin, Judge James Wilson, the Dutch Ambassador, General Thomas Cadwalader and William Rawle

dwelling on this side of the street, it will be understood that this must have been regarded as an eligible and even fashionable quarter in which to live. They were not all residents at the same time, of course, but their names will give an idea of the social appraisement of this part of Market street in the decade when Philadelphia was the national capital.

William Rawle, who was United States District Attorney for Pennsylvania at the time he occupied the dwelling on the site of the present 730, was a great-grandson of Francis Rawle, who came to this country in 1686. After receiving his early education in the Friends' Academy here, he completed his training in the elementary schools in New York, where his stepfather, Samuel Shoemaker, a Loyalist, took him when the British evacuated Philadelphia in 1778. From New York he was sent to London, where he entered the Temple and continued the legal studies he had begun in the office of Attorney-General Kempe in New York.

It was from the fact that many of the young men of the wealthier class in Philadelphia completed their legal training in the Temple in London that the Philadelphia lawyer early won such high reputation for his learning and knowledge of the law. Rawle seems to have had the Penns for clients almost as soon as he completed his studies and was admitted to practice law. For many years the Rawles were the representatives or agents of the Founder's family in this country.

William Rawle attained high rank in his profession in this city, easily taking his place beside such eminent leaders at the bar as Tilghman, Ingersoll and Dallas. Although a good many Philadelphians ranked young Rawle as a Loyalist, owing to the attitude of his stepfather, he was placed in positions of honor, and Washington himself showed his appreciation of his high ability as a leader by appointing him United States Attorney for Pennsylvania in 1791. While serving in this office Mr. Rawle was sent with a United States Judge to accompany the military forces to western Pennsylvania, when the "Whisky Insurrection" was being suppressed in 1794. He declined tenders of a place on the bench of the United States District Court here and also the position of President Judge of the Pennsylvania District Court. He was prominently identified with the literary and learned societies of Philadelphia, and was one of the founders of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1824. He was Vice-President of the Law Academy of Philadelphia upon its organization, and was made Chancellor of the Associated Members of the Bar of Philadelphia. His "View of the Constitution of the United States" was for almost half a century the authority on the subject, and he was one of the members of the commission that revised the Civil Code of Pennsylvania in 1830. He died in 1836.



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TYPICAL BUILDINGS ON MARKET STREET BETWEEN SEVENTH AND EIGHTH IN 1860

In the house to the right, 830, Benjamin Chew lived in 1801, and in 1832 William Rawle, United States District Attorney, resided there the same year. The hotel partly seen at the right was the White Hall House on the site of 715, and the brown stone structure housed an old drug firm.

Across Market street from William Rawle's house was the residence of his stepfather, Samuel Shoemaker, in 1791. Shoemaker was then retired and is described in the directory simply as "gentleman." The site of Samuel Shoemaker's house was 731, now covered by the building of Lit Brothers.

In this square, between Seventh and Eighth streets, were two potteries during the last decade of the eighteenth century; indeed, Market street has been famed for its potteries in the early years. The two on the south side of the street in the block we are now considering, however, have not contributed a great deal to the history of artistic pottery.

Very little appears to be known of John Hinckle and William Headman, who had their potteries here between 1791 and 1801. Hinckle had his place at what would now be 708 or 710 before 1791. What kind of ware he made is not now known, neither is there any information regarding the character of the product of the pottery of Headman, which was on the site of the present 736. However, in the latter instance, we may surmise that he was engaged in the manufacture of a common ware, a rather primitive form of decorative pottery.

This surmise is founded upon the fact that there have been found pieces of such ware bearing the initials of Andrew Headman, whose pottery was at Rock Hill, Bucks County. Andrew Headman is known to have been in business in Bucks County in 1808, and there is strong probability that he was related to William Headman, who had his place on Market street from 1795 to 1798. The Pennsylvania Germans during the eighteenth century operated several potteries that have become famed for their product, but until the opening years of the last century very little pottery of importance, from an artistic standpoint, was produced in this city. It seems allowable to assign both Hinckle and Headman to the Pennsylvania Germans, but their ware probably was only cheap pottery, of the kind called earthenware.

About the time these potteries were on Market street a stone cutter, named Richard North, dwelt on the north side of Market street at about the site of the present 719. His chief claim to distinction lies in the fact that he carved the bas relief of the Pennsylvania arms that is imbedded in the front wall over the entrance of old Congress Hall at Sixth and Chestnut streets. This work shows him to have been a capable commercial sculptor.

North evidently removed from the house at 715 before 1795, for in that year we find him at what now would be 719, and at his old address John Dunwoody is keeping the Spread Eagle Inn. About the opening year of the last century the Spread Eagle was removed to the northwest corner of Ninth and Market streets, and we may have a word more to say of it when we reach Ninth street.

But we do not have to go so far back to find spots of interest in

this square. During the middle years of the last century one of the most popular confectioneries in this city, that of S. Henrion, was located at 242, now 712. In those days confectioners made cordials as well as candies, and on the billhead of Henrion's successor, A. J. Chauveau, who occupied the place until about 1858, we find that he was distiller as well as confectioner. Chauveau became almost as well remembered as his predecessor, and it is interesting to note that his son and grandson followed him in the business.

The same block, also like many another on Market street, had a newspaper published within its bounds. This was the *Evening Herald,* which for about a year had its office at 708 in 1867–68. At that time the paper, which had been brought into being in 1866 in an effort to reach the Democratic voters who were without an organ, was published by C. F. Reinstein & Co. After a career of four years at various locations, the high cost of white paper interfered with its success financially, and in 1870 it was sold to Denis F. Dealy, who three years later had to retire from business on account of his health. The new proprietors, however, failed to maintain its success and in 1877 Dealy, who in 1874 had purchased the *Evening Chronicle,* bought back the *Herald* and combined the two as the *Chronicle-Herald.* That sheet for some years had a fairly successful career and was the organ of the stalwart Democrats of the city. After Dealy's final retirement from the paper it came into the possession of Louis E. Levy, who conducted it with great care and also issued an attractive Sunday edition, called *The Mirror,* which was illustrated with half-tone cuts, but even these had to succumb about twenty-five years ago. The *Chronicle-Herald* and *The Mirror* were issued from Seventh street below Market for years.

There were a few other landmarks to be found in the square from Seventh street to Eighth, but we shall not be able to look at them, save in a few instances in which pictures may be found that show us what they were. On the north side of the street the vast building of Lit Brothers has effaced virtually all of the former structures, and on the south side there are no ancient buildings now to be found in the same square.

Among the residents of this square probably none was better known than Elliston Perot and his young brother, John. The Perots were natives of Bermuda, but had been in business in the Island of Dominica. John, after he and his brother, who had been made prisoners of war by Great Britain, then in conflict with Holland, had been released, came to Philadelphia in 1781. His brother Elliston, who had been seeking redress in Europe for the loss the firm had incurred through the British, joined John here in 1784, having failed to obtain the restoration of a single penny. They had their first place of business in Water street, next to Stephen Girard, for they were of French descent, and that part

JOHN PEROT

ELLISTON PEROT

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of the city in those days appears to have been the quarter where the French in Philadelphia elected to reside.

The brothers engaged in the West India trade and within a short time they had taken residences on Market street between Seventh and Eighth. In 1795 we find Elliston Perot residing at 299, the site of what now would be 733, and his brother John lived at 279, or what now would be 709. About the beginning of the last century, however, they became next-door neighbors and John removed next to his brother Elliston, at what now would be 731. At first Elliston Perot occupied the western part of the lot numbered 299, the eastern part being occupied by a coachmaker named James Ker. Both brothers built on the lot after Elliston had secured the coachmaker's site, but until Elliston's death there was a wide passageway or drive between the two houses. After Elliston died the property was sold and two modern store buildings were built on his lot. John's house was, in 1859, said to be the only dwelling on Market street east of Tenth, by which was meant the only building that was in no part a store, for even so late as 1859 there were still dwellers on this part of Market street.

Elliston Perot is remembered as the first Philadelphian to select Long Branch as a place of summer resort, and each year, beginning toward the close of the eighteenth century, he drove his family down to the New Jersey seaside and they spent the hot months there. At that time there were few houses at Long Branch, and there were no other means of reaching the resort than by wagon or coach.

In this house on Market street Elliston Perot's son, Francis, was born in 1796. At an early age he was apprenticed to Thomas Morris, whose brewery had been established in 1687, and served six years learning the business of brewing and malting. Subsequently he engaged in business for himself, purchasing the brewery and malt house on the south side of Vine street between Third and Fourth. There he had erected one of the first stationary steam engines to be put up in this country. This was in 1819, and for half a century the machine daily continued to work successfully. A few years later Francis Perot married the daughter of his former employer, Elizabeth Marshall Morris. Their son, T. Morris Perot, studied chemistry and pharmacy and started a wholesale drug business in 1851, and after their building, then at 621 Market street, had been destroyed by fire in 1869, T. Morris Perot and his partner, Edward H. Ogden, his brother-in-law, entered into partnership with Francis Perot, who had succeeded Thomas Morris in business at 310 Vine street. The firm is still in existence, but while the office is in this city, the main plant of the company is at Oswego, and in the concern as officers of the Francis Perot's Sons Malting Company are T. Morris Perot and Elliston Perot, both sons of T. Morris Perot, and continuing the long line of brewers and

malsters. As the house dates from five years after the founding of Philadelphia, it is unlikely that there is such another ancient house in this country descending through one family.

Mention was made above of the Spread Eagle Inn that was kept by Dunwoody in 1795 at what now would be 715 Market street. This place seems to have continued as a tavern until the middle of the last century, and in 1859 it was known as the White Hall House, evidently named for the district of that name in the northeast section of the city. In the 60's this building and the one next to it, 713, were removed and made way for the large publishing house of J. B. Lippincott & Co., later known as the J. B. Lippincott Company. The publishing firm remained there until about 1899, when they abandoned the retail part of their business, and in November of that year the Lippincott publishing house on the rear of the lot was completely gutted by one of the most disastrous fires that ever occurred in this neighborhood.

This fire started about 6 o'clock on the morning of November 29, 1899, in Partridge & Richardson's store at the southeast corner of Eighth and Filbert streets, and four hours later nearly half of the block was in ruins and a loss estimated then at more than $1,250,000 had been sustained. Partridge and Richardson's and the Lippincott Company's buildings were virtually effaced, and many other properties in the vicinity were more or less damaged. The Lippincotts lost a great quantity of their valuable electrotype plates, estimated to be worth more than $400,000, and causing many important publications to become suddenly out of print. The store where the fire originated from a defective electric wire or fuse also was a total loss, estimated at more than half a million dollars.

In a photograph of John Perot's house on Market street there is visible on the skyline a weather vane surmounted by a mermaid. This artistic vane ornamented a cupola designed after the lantern of Demosthenes, still a prominent feature of the old Merchants' Exchange Building, at Dock and Walnut streets, and was raised over the roof of the wholesale drug house of George W. Carpenter & Co., at the northeast corner of Eighth and Market streets. This high structure was for many years a landmark, even long after Carpenter was dead, and the building was occupied as a cloth house. George W. Carpenter, who did a large business with the South and West before the Civil War, was born in Germantown in 1802 and died in 1860. He was one of the early members of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and was a contributor of valuable articles on the subjects of drugs and medicines, which was in the line of his business, but he also was a prominent geologist, and when he built his fine place at Mt. Airy, which, in honor of his wife, he named Philellena, he provided a museum for his immense and valuable collection of minerals.

JOHN PEROT'S HOUSE, 731 MARKET STREET, 1859

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It was at that time the only dwelling house on Market street east of Tenth.

The Carpenter place at Mount Airy, which was sold about twenty-five years ago, was one of the show places in Germantown. Its natural beauties had been enriched by the addition of many pieces of sculpture and paintings from Joseph Bonaparte's estate at Bordentown. The lawn was itself a large gallery of sculpture, and in the house the paintings were hung in every public room. The whole contents were disposed of at auction in 1893, and later the old mansion was removed. Fine houses have been erected on the site of the old place and the visitor to the neighborhood gets a reminder of the estate from the names of the streets that formerly bounded it. One of these is called Carpenter street and the other Phil-Ellena street. All else of its glory has departed. Carpenter began business on Market street in 1828, next to the corner of Eighth, and about 1840 erected the four-story building which became the landmark until it was removed in 1900 for the extension of the store of Lit Brothers.

CHAPTER XVII

EIGHTH STREET TO NINTH—WESTERN TERMINUS OF THE MARKET SHEDS—THE SECKELS—KEELY AND HIS MOTOR—CARRYING MAIL IN 1838—SAMUEL BRECK

When Matthew Clarkson and M. Biddle published their plan, or map, of Philadelphia in 1762, they found the western edge of the city to be a little above Eighth street, while the bulk of the built-up parts of Philadelphia, as seen from this map, did not extend westward beyond Fifth street. There were open lots and a few isolated houses dotting blocks here and there, and to the southwest the last building indicated was the Pennsylvania Hospital at Eighth and Spruce streets. Only a score of years before this it is said that woods extended almost down to Eighth street, although what was called the Governor's Woods did not begin, according to Watson, until Broad street was reached, beyond which thoroughfare, then only a path, the city was a primitive wilderness. On Clarkson & Biddle's map we find a small building indicated at the southwest corner of Eighth and Market streets, while a little west of Eighth street on the north side a larger structure is indicated. Below Eighth, and between that street and Seventh, only two houses, at the northwest corner of the latter and Market street, are shown. The remainder of the square consists of vacant lands. The south side of Market street, within this square, was a little better settled, for there were four or five houses built on it.

Eighth street was the western terminus of the market sheds in the middle of Market street. These sheds were extended from Sixth street to Eighth about 1816, and they remained until all the sheds were removed from the middle of the street, in 1859. Eastward the freight cars of the City Railway, which were drawn by animal power, used a single track, while above Eighth street there were double tracks. The advent of the street passenger railways, in 1858, by adding additional tracks to the street and by compelling the use of a track on the south side of the sheds, advanced the long-continued movement to have the markets removed. The street cars in a year did more to that end than all the movements and memorials and meetings of the years before that time.

As we cross Eighth street we may pause for a moment to say that here, at 9 North Eighth street, in modest lodgings kept by Mrs. Rosannah White, Washington spent his last days in Philadelphia. This

BOOKS

was in November, 1798, after he had retired from the Presidency and had withdrawn, as he thought, permanently from public life. But when the French attacks upon our vessels became so numerous and the country was on the verge of going to war with France, in name as well as in fact, President Adams called upon Cincinnatus to once more forsake his plow at Mount Vernon and take command of the army. Washington reluctantly accepted the invitation and came to this city to assume his command, and spent a short time here. A year later the whole country was shocked by news of his death.

The square on Market street from Eighth to Ninth is not without its historic page. Indeed, a great deal of interesting history was made there in one way or another, although most of it is now forgotten. According to Clarkson's map of 1762, already mentioned, there was a rather large mansion on the north side of Market street just above Eighth. From its appearance on the plan it seems to have been surrounded by a spacious garden. At any rate, this was later the home of David Seckel, a prosperous butcher, whose name is kept green by the well-liked Seckel pear, although those who eat this fruit and call it "sickel pear" are unaware of its origin.

David Seckel is said to have been the owner of the first Seckel pear tree in this city. At least it was standing on his plantation in The Neck, the estate which later passed into the possession of Stephen Girard. His son, Laurence, however, is said to have been responsible for popularizing the fruit. The tree, which at the time not only had no name, but was not regarded as worth picking, had been on the property so long that no one knew whence it came. One day Laurence Seckel picked one of the pears when it was ripe and ate it. He found it so good that he ate several others, and then he began to give the fruit of this neglected tree to his friends in the city. In a short time the Seckel pear, as it was named after the man who adopted it, became a very popular fruit, although more recently the Seckel pear has again been neglected. The tree, according to Watson, the annalist, was still standing in 1842, but one side of it was decayed, for the tree stood in alluvial soil; but he mentions that in 1834 it bore well.

It is said that the garden around the Seckel mansion, at Eighth and Market streets, had several of these pear trees, evidently planted after the old plantation in The Neck had passed to Girard. For years the pear was not only a novelty but a luxury, but it long ago passed into the pear of commerce, and it is now grown freely all over Pennsylvania and probably elsewhere. In 1785 there were two houses on this lot. George Seckel, gentleman, resided in the western one and David Seckel, butcher, on the one nearest Eighth street. Laurence Seckel, who was one of the early members of the Dancing Assembly, died March 6, 1823, at the age of seventy-seven years.

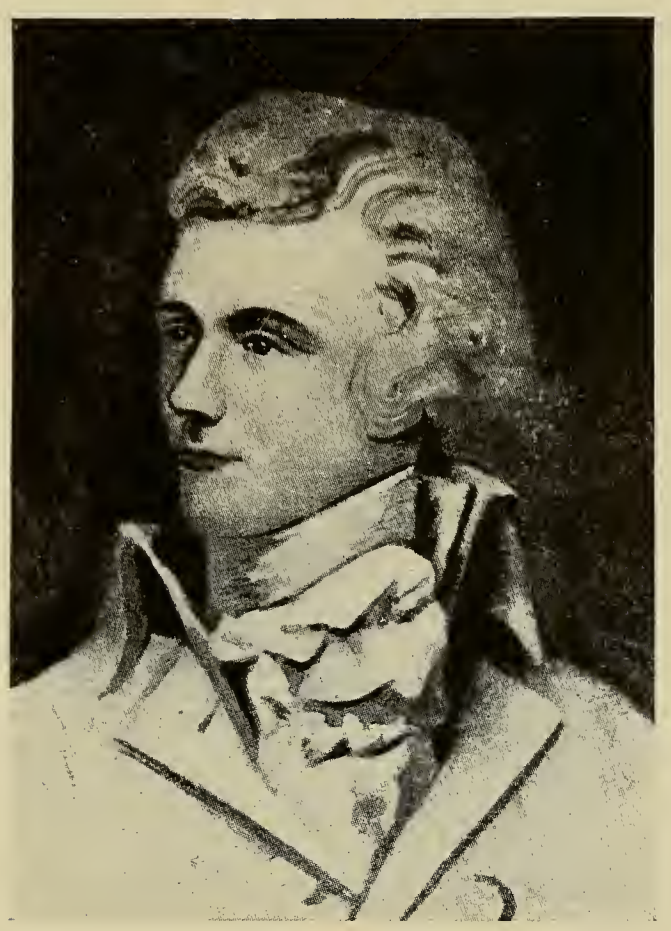
In a building no longer in existence, at 815 or 817, John Keely first began to attract the attention of the world by his announcement of astounding discoveries in physics, and for more than a quarter century he managed to excite interest in his inventions, usually alluded to as the Keely motor. Yet no one ever was able to wrest from him the secret of this extraordinary machine. Even the company organized to promote the enterprise never was permitted to learn it, but it may be explained that the alleged secret never was one to experienced and well-trained scientists, although at different times one or another of these professional men seemed to have fallen under the hypnotic spell of Keely, and gravely announced a belief in the existence of some wonderful new force discovered by this wizard.

That Keely was one of the greatest humbugs who ever passed a pleasant career fooling the greater part of the civilized world was generally admitted before his death in 1898. It then was understood that what the inventor really had done was what is being done on the stage every night in the week somewhere by professional entertainers known as magicians or conjurers. He was perpetrating tricks that were wonderful if they were believed to be accomplished in the manner Keely alleged, but which could be perfectly well duplicated by methods familiar to every physicist or engineer.

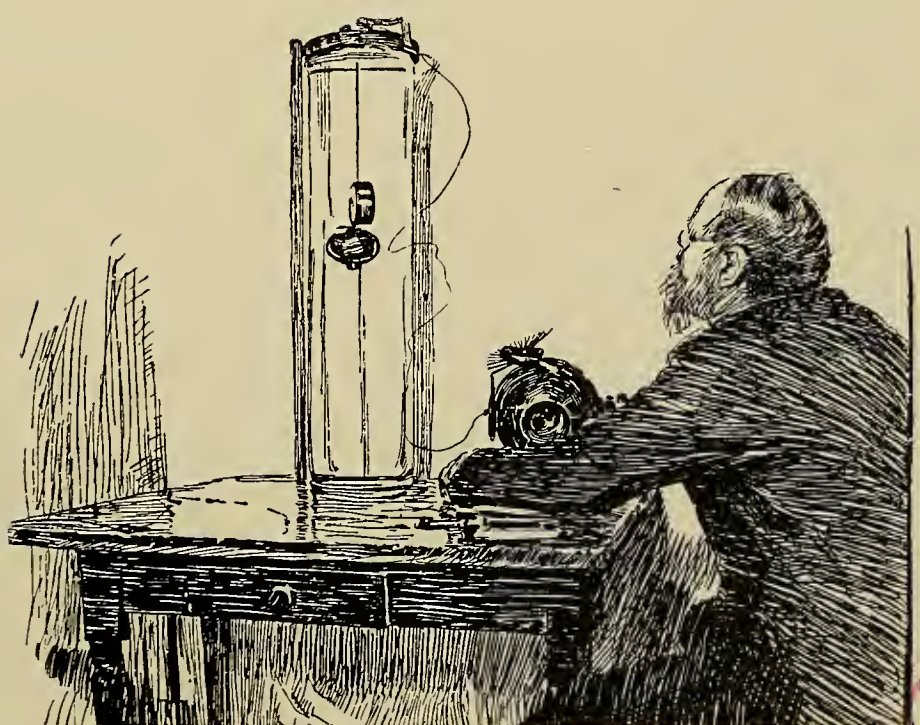
When Keely resided on Market street, from about 1867 to 1873, he was set down in the directories as musician. While not a great deal of his early career was known, it has been declared that he had been connected with some theatrical enterprise, and that he was for a time a stage conjurer; he also was an orchestra musician. There seems to be some probability of this, for his later career, when he was keeping the waiting shareholders of the Keely Motor Company expecting each year tidings of the entire success of his wonderful invention, which always, especially after a stormy meeting, was just about to be accomplished, had about it something suggestive of the kind of humbugging one expects when he attends an entertainment given by a magician. Of course, it seemed to be carrying a joke a good way, but Keely evidently enjoyed it.

Mrs. Bloomfield Moore, the friend of the poet, Robert Browning, and herself a capable versifier, became deeply interested in Keely's work. She is said not only to have contributed more than $60,000 to him for his experiments, but until the end stoutly maintained that Keely was the greatest discoverer the world ever had seen, and that his new force would be the greatest power ever applied to mechanics. She wrote a book on the subject in 1894, and it was said at the time of her death, in London in January, 1899, less than two months after Keely had passed away, that she had died of a broken heart.

The late Addison B. Burk, president of the Spring Garden Insti-



SAMUEL BRECK, JR.
Whose memoirs give vitality to much
Philadelphia history



KEELY AND HIS "MOTOR"

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tute, and E. A. Scott, a consulting engineer, paid four visits to Keely's shop, a few years before his death, at the suggestion of Mrs. Moore, and from what they saw of the inventor's experiments they decided that no new force had been discovered, and afterward Mr. Burk duplicated at the Spring Garden Institute at least two of the most wonderful experiments. Of course, these were accomplished by familiar methods. It was found that a platinum wire that Keely insisted was a wire was really a tube through which compressed air was passed to give motion to the machines. The new force used by Keely was the old one of compressed air, and his machine, including his motor, was merely designed for the use of air in a manner that would not be suspected by the inexperienced.

Keely died November 18, 1898, at the age of seventy-one years, and although expectation that his will would divulge his secret force was entertained by many who had blind faith in him, the document proved to be disappointing, for it never referred to his motor, but devised his personal property, said to have been worth about $10,000 to his widow.

Owing to the fact that the first Pennsylvania Railroad station, or depot, as it then was called, was located in this square, Market street from Eighth to Ninth was plentifully supplied with hotels in the early days, and several of these survived until only a few years ago. At 815, where Keely resided at one time, was for many years the Washington Hotel. For a period this was kept by a man named Dasch, and in 1850 Samuel Derr was its proprietor. Further along in the block, at 831, was the William Penn. In 1850 this was managed by J. Thompson, and the house was standing as recently as 1875. Next to it, on the west, at 83, was the Eagle Hotel, kept in 1850 by H. Neuman, and evidently keeping alive the sign of the old Spread Eagle, which once stood at the northwest corner of Ninth and Market streets. On the south side of the street in the same square was the Alleghany House, kept in 1850 by Mrs. Shelton. This stood at 814, and near to it, at 818, was the Western Hotel. At one time this was kept by Jesse Tomlinson. These have been effaced by the Gimbel Brothers' big store.

In the Civil War days James Prosser, a famed terrapin chef, had a restaurant at 806. Prosser was a fine-looking mulatto, and his terrapin has been made historic in verse.

The late Councilman William Van Osten, who lived to celebrate his ninetieth birthday in 1915, recalled the old railroad station here, and with some reason, for about four years, when he was a boy, he was engaged in carrying the mails for William Cameron and Jacob Peters, who had the contract. Cameron was a brother of Senator Simon Cameron, and Peters, who had the White Swan Inn at Second and Race streets, also had a line of stages.

Mr. Van Osten, in recalling his experiences, said that he went to this work when he was a boy of thirteen, or in 1838. His duty was to get the mail from the post-office, then in the old Exchange Building, at Walnut and Dock streets, carry it in a wagon to the depot of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, at what would now be 812 Market street, where the mail sacks were placed on the train.

The "train," he explained, usually consisted of a single car. At times there were two cars. He placed the sacks in one corner of the car and then the four horses that were attached to the "train" started with it out Market street. The route was to Broad street, to Willow, and then along the present line of the Reading subway to the Schuylkill river, crossing the Columbia bridge. He remained with the mail until the other side of the river was reached, where the train was placed on the inclined plane and hoisted up Belmont hill, and on the other side of it an engine was hitched to the car or cars, and the journey to Columbia was begun.

Mr. Van Osten's duties stopped at the foot of the Inclined Plane. There he was met by the State agent and given a receipt for his mail sacks. He waited there for the western train to bring the incoming mail, and accompanied it back over the same route. There were two trains a day in each direction.

The depot was next door to the Alleghany House, and after the Pennsylvania Railroad established a new station at Broad and Cherry streets on the site of the Academy of Fine Arts, the old building on Market street was used by the newly formed Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, of which Matthew Newkirk was the president and inspiration.

In 1785 there were no buildings on the south side of Market street between Eighth and Ninth. By 1791, however, the westward tide had set in, and there were seven buildings on this ground. At the southwest corner of Eighth street Henry Kremer, a shopkeeper, was to be found, and next to him was Joseph Ogden, clerk of the market. In a large house, at what then was 276, and later was 808, dwelt the Representative from the United Netherlands, as he was put down in the directory, and two doors west of him was William Hamilton, a carpenter.

In the course of his memoir of Samuel Breck, read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1863, Joseph R. Ingersoll described the character of Market street, between Eighth and Ninth, at the close of the eighteenth century, when Philadelphia was the nation's capital:

> "Families," he said, "occupied almost all of the houses—some of them being the homes of bachelors of wealth, equally devoted to the display of elegance. The northwest [probably northeast] corner of Market and ninth streets was held by such a gentleman. A custom prevailed to make the pavement along the north side a resort on Sunday afternoons and evenings, of gay and

MARKET STREET, LOOKING EAST FROM NINTH, 1799

This was a fashionable promenade while Philadelphia was the national capital. The building in the centre is the old Court House.

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> well-dressed persons, male and female; not less crowded than a visitor at Paris sees in the neighborhood of the Bois de Boulogne.
>
> "At that period the southeastern part of the town, which has undergone a change, was also especially a fashionable place of abode. He [Samuel Breck] wrote to a friend in 1854 that he has seen assembled at his father's of an evening, in a social way, the three Princes of Orleans, one of whom became King Louis Phillipe; Talleyrand, and his inseparable companion, Beaumez; Volney, and he thinks, the Duke of Liancourt, and many other distinguished French noblemen, emigrants—such as Talon, a jurist of great eminence in the Parliamentary Courts of Louis XVI. No one now living here probably carries with him a recollection and impression of such royal and high-bred companionship at home."

Samuel Breck and his father, whose name also was Samuel, have given to this square a distinction that few others on Market street can boast. They came from Boston, where the elder Breck was a wealthy merchant. The younger Breck, whose "Recollections" is one of the most charming volumes of its kind that deals with this part of the country, relates in that book how his father left Boston on account of an unfair tax laid upon him. This was in 1792, and in that year the house then numbered 321, on the site of the present 817, was purchased, and the family removed to this city.

The gossipy pages of the younger Breck described the property in these words:

> It was a modern construction, with lofty ceilings; a front of thirty feet; a deep lot with coachhouse and stables in the rear, and a carriage way into Filbert street. For this property my father paid eleven thousand dollars, and as soon as the purchase was made he transplanted his family forever from his native town to the beautiful city of Philadelphia. This event was forced upon him, but neither he nor my mother ever regretted the removal, notwithstanding he lost fifty thousand dollars on the sale of his house and gardens, which he sold to my uncle Andrews for eight thousand five hundred dollars, who resold them for about sixty thousand dollars. The whole of our taxes in Philadelphia were fifty-five dollars, being just about the amount of the Boston collector's commissions on my father's taxes in that town.

Birch's view of "High Street from Ninth," which was published in 1799, shows the Breck mansion and a great deal of what was known as Hunter's row, of which the Breck mansion appears to have been a part. On a copy of this rare old engraving owned by the younger Breck was written: "The middle house with green blinds on the left belonged to S. Breck, my father, who resided there many years. It was large, modern and convenient, and I sold it for my mother in 1810 for sixteen thousand five hundred dollars. The house adjoining belonged to our family, and was sold for nine thousand dollars." The Breck house was a double one, which accounts for the difference in values.

Samuel Breck, the younger, lived a very long life. He was born four years before the battle of Bunker Hill, and as a child was held in arms to witness that combat from a safe distance. Yet he lived to see the second year of the Civil War well along, dying in 1862, in his ninety-second year.

Breck, who succeeded his father in business, had his counting house at Walnut street wharf. He erected the mansion, Sweet Briar, now in Fairmount Park, and that remained his residence for many years. He was at one time a member of Congress, and at another a member of the State Legislature. He not only inherited wealth from his father, but also that indescribable social attraction which made his house the rendezvous for distinguished foreigners and strangers from other parts of the country. He took a deep interest in various literary, agricultural and benevolent organizations, and contributed several historical pamphlets to our knowledge of the State and its resources.

In 1791 George Hunter had a coach factory at what now would be 817, and William Hunter, also a coachmaker, had either his place of business or his dwelling on the site of 813. From these Hunters the row of fine modern dwellings that were erected about 1790 became known to Philadelphians as Hunters' Row. This property is now covered by the big store of Strawbridge & Clothier, which firm began business in a modest manner in a single building at the northwest corner of Eighth and Market streets in 1868.

Next to George Hunter's coach factory in this year lived David Kennedy, then Secretary of the Land Office of the State. At 321, the house purchased by the elder Breck, Dr. Thomas Rushton and William Smith, of South Carolina, lived the same year. By the time the Brecks moved into this block it was fairly populated.

In 1795 we find at the northwest corner of Eighth street Samuel Bryan, the Register-General of Pennsylvania, lived. Next to him came the Seckels, and at 315, now 811, Major Pierce Butler, then a Senator from South Carolina, had his dwelling; next to him lived John Travers, set down as merchant in the directories. Then came Edmund Randolph, who had just retired from Washington's Cabinet as Secretary of State. Randolph retired under fire, and, although his fame has suffered somewhat from misunderstandings of the true cause, the efforts of his descendants to restore his character seem to have been favored by success.

Next door to the Brecks, in 1795, at 325, or really 323, John Eckstein, a very capable engraver and etcher, had his home and studio. Eckstein etched the frontispieces for the 1809 edition of Freneau's "Poems," and they are of real artistic importance. Further west, in the same block, in this year James Pemberton, who had a large plantation on Gray's Ferry road, now covered by the Naval Asylum, had his mansion, and next door to him lived Samuel Pleasants, a wealthy merchant, and nearest to Ninth street, probably at the corner, Joseph Anthony, a retired merchant lived.

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NORTH SIDE OF MARKET STREET, LOOKING EAST FROM NINTH, IN 1875

The ancient character of the thoroughfare had already undergone changes at the time this photograph was made. There is a reminder of older times in the sign of the William Penn Hotel, the fifth house from the left. Four tracks are to be seen in the street. The inner ones were those of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, still occasionally used down to this point in 1875.

CHAPTER XVIII

EIGHTH STREET TO NINTH, CONTINUED—EDMUND RANDOLPH—ISRAEL PEMBERTON—OLIVER EVANS AND HIS STEAM CARRIAGE, 1804

The most important residents of the block from Eighth street to Ninth in 1795 were Edmund Randolph, Pierce Butler, Samuel Breck and James Pemberton, all of them names familiar to everyone versed in local history, although Randolph, of course, bore a name of far wider renown. It was unfortunate that Randolph, after a public career of twenty years, was destined to end that epoch by leaving office under a cloud. That he was entirely innocent of any wrongdoing was shown by his own "Vindication," and the attitude of his friends in his own lifetime, and in the several "Lives" of him that have since appeared. Yet, only a few years ago, the old charges against him loomed up again in the inoffensive pages of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell's novel, "The Red City." The doctor fell into the error of supposing that the matter never had been cleared up and that Randolph had resigned from office under the dreadful stigma of having the charges against him "not proven."

This passing reference to Randolph was immediately taken up by one of his descendants, Agnes Chauncey, who, in a pamphlet addressed to "the readers of Doctor Mitchell's historical novel, 'The Red City,' " gave a brief but rather clear *résumé* of the whole transaction, which, as she has shown, was not to Randolph's discredit.

Randolph had long been known to Washington, and the two were intimate friends. Randolph's father and his grandfather were King's Attorneys in Virginia. When Washington took command of the army in 1775 he made his fellow Virginian one of his aides-de-camp, and for the following twenty years he was constantly serving the public in one capacity or another, and always with fidelity and ability. Virginia made him her Attorney-General, then her Governor, and sent him as one of her representatives to the Constitutional Convention. Washington appointed him his first Attorney-General, and he remained in that office until he was appointed Secretary of State upon the resignation of Jefferson in 1794.

It was a time of great excitement. There were bitter party contests in Congress; Jay's Treaty with Great Britain had been most unpopular with the Republicans, and in addition there had broken out in Pennsylvania a small rebellion known as the Whisky Insurrection,

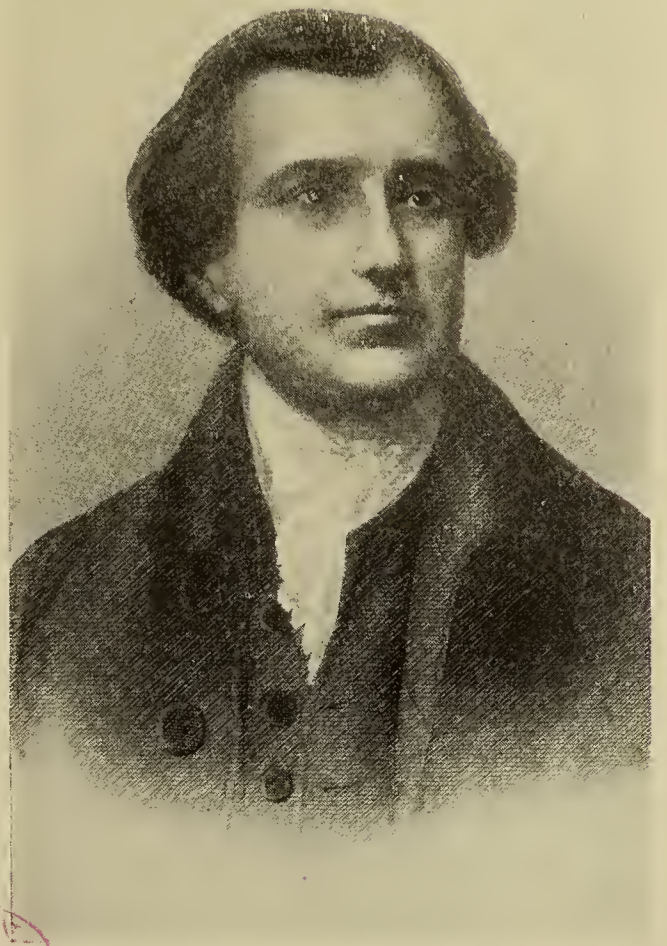
which caused the greatest concern to the officers in charge of the Government. At the same time English ships were taking men and food off ships bound for France, and here, in Philadelphia, there was a French party that was doing pretty much as it pleased. Washington is said to have sighed that he would rather be dead than in the Presidency, and in the midst of this turmoil an English ship had intercepted a bundle of dispatches written by the French representative, Fauchet, to his Government.

The bundle was sent to the British Minister, and in due course they were displayed to Washington. Wolcott, Pickering and Bradford gathered at the Executive Mansion and interpreted one of the letters to indicate that Randolph had made overture to the French representative for the advance of sums of money. Randolph, who had been called to the conference, was requested to wait in another room while the three members of the Cabinet and the President discussed the subject. The Secretary of State, naturally, was incensed at this treatment, said he would put his reply on paper, but added that he would not continue in office a minute longer after such treatment.

Randolph not only did write a detailed denial of the truth of insinuations, but, finding that Fauchet had started for France, followed him to Newport and there received from him a certificate to the effect that he had not intended to insinuate anything derogatory to the Secretary of State. Later Randolph wrote his long "Vindication," and while his friends never doubted him, his enemies, among them Cobbett, continued their professional enmity. Unfortunately a blot was placed on Randolph's name, although by this time that name seems to have been rehabilitated.

James Pemberton, who, in 1795 was a resident of the same block on Market street, was one of the last men in the city to wear the old cocked hat, which was a familiar sight on the city streets. He was born in Philadelphia, of Quaker parentage, was reared at the Friends' School, and became noted as one of their best speakers or preachers. At the time of the Revolution he let it be known that he was averse to war, not only because it was hateful in the eyes of the Friends, but because he had not been convinced that war was the only way of settling differences between two countries, thus becoming one of the earliest exponents of international arbitration.

He was a son of Israel Pemberton, who had a "great house" at Third and Chestnut streets. He was wealthy, and in his young manhood traveled a great deal, both in this country and in Europe. He was a merchant and throve, adding to the fortune that already was his. In spite of his peaceful attitude, strange to relate, he was one of the small party of Quakers who were exiled to Virginia during the Revolution "to keep the peace."



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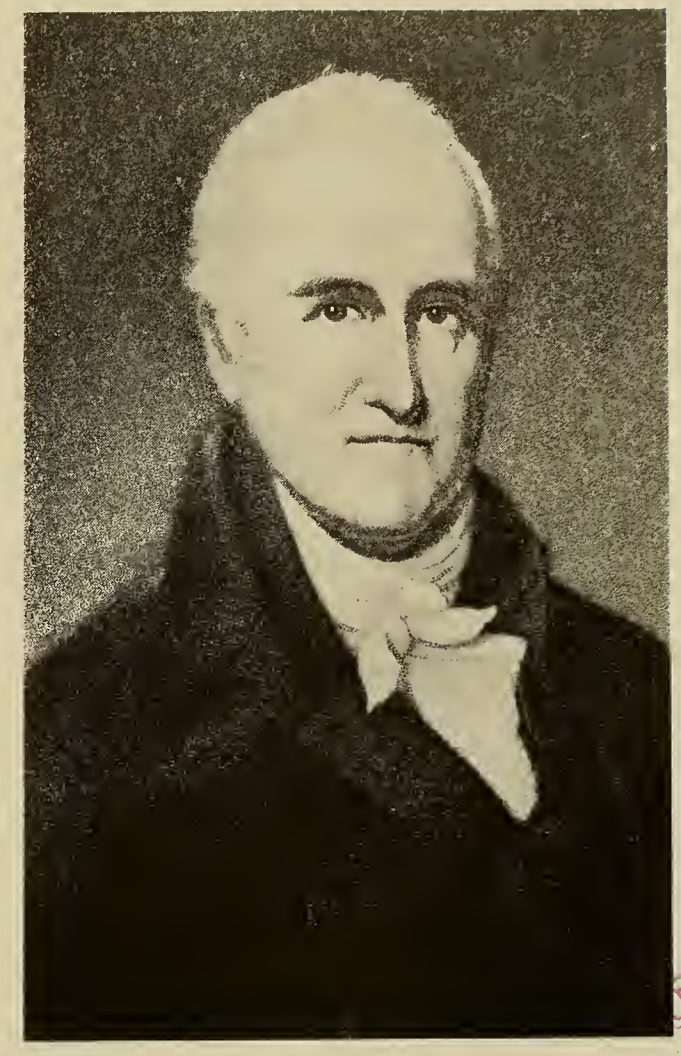
EDMUND RANDOLPH
First Attorney General of the United States
Secretary of State, 1794–1795



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THOMAS LEIPER
Soldier in the Revolution, merchant, manufacturer and politician

Taking deep interest in the welfare of the Colored race, Pemberton became one of the original members of the Abolition Society. His benevolence also directed him to interest himself in the Pennsylvania Hospital, with which he continued to be associated to the time of his death, in 1809. He was a typical Quaker, and his picturesque figure on the streets of the city was familiar to almost every Philadelphian in the latter part of the eighteenth century. He lived to be eighty-six years of age.

In 1801 the house that had been occupied by James Pemberton was the dwelling of Rebecca Shoemaker, described in the directory as gentlewoman. At that time the dwelling next door, at what would now be either 825 or 827, Caspar Morris, brewer, lived. Morris was one of the last of the same name to conduct the brewery that had been founded by Anthony Morris five years after Penn's first visit, which business, through the intermarriage of the families, has come into the possession of the Perots.

At this time Robert Fielding, a coach maker, had his dwelling next to the corner of Eighth street and his shop further west, at 325 and 327, near Ninth street.

On the south side of the street, in 1795, we find the corner of Eighth street occupied by Alexander Austin, a shoemaker. Next door to him was Joseph Carre, whose name in the directory is accompanied by the information that he was an "ice cream seller." It is presumed that Carre also manufactured the dish for which Philadelphia has always been famed in this country. Certainly he was selling ice cream for half a dozen years before Bosse, who always has been regarded as one of the first to introduce the confection here. Bosse had his place on South Fifth street in 1801.

Joseph Ogden, Register of Weights and Measures, lived in the third house from Eighth street in 1795, and his next-door neighbor was Judge James Wilson, who had moved from Seventh and Market streets. In a large house, shown in Birch's view of this square, then numbered 276, Israel Whelen lived in this year. Whelen, who then was a wealthy merchant, had been Commissary-General during the Revolution, all of which we discussed when we were passing from Fourth street to Fifth.

In 1801 the house that had been tenanted by Whelen was occupied by A. J. Dallas, then Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the dwelling formerly that of Judge Wilson was the home of Thomas Leiper, a wealthy tobacconist. Leiper was born in Scotland, and when he first came to this country landed in Maryland, but his history is not connected with either, but with Pennsylvania, and more particularly Philadelphia. He was here before the Revolution, and, indeed, when the conflict broke, he already was one of the most prominent tobacco merchants in this city. He was one of the first men in

Pennsylvania to advocate rupture with the mother country, and he even went so far as to start a fund for open resistance to the British crown.

One of the original members of the First City Troop, he served with that organization in the Revolution as lieutenant and as treasurer. In the latter capacity he is said to have carried the last subsidies of the French to the Americans then at Yorktown. He was major of the Horse of the Legion, which was recruited to oppose the famed Black Cockade forces which had been raised by the friends of John Adams. It is said that the recruiting for this command was made entirely at Leiper's own expense. He gave freely from his own well-filled purse to many public movements, and to the fund raised by the Bank of North America toward the end of the Revolution he is said to have given £5000.

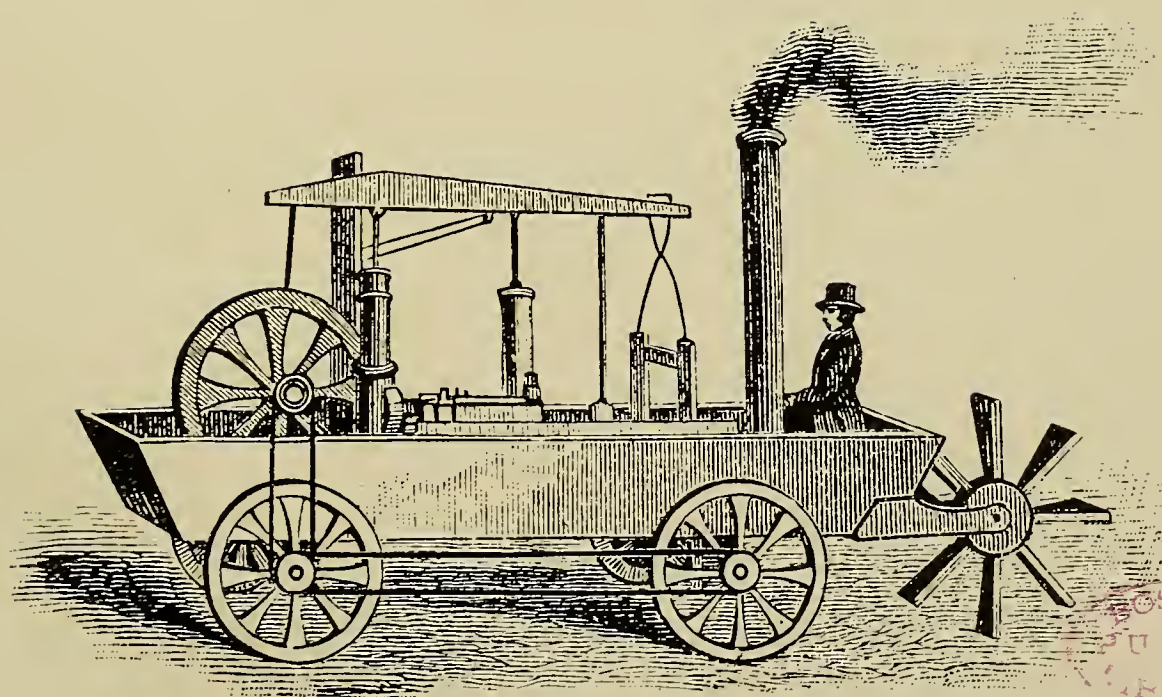
He conducted large snuff mills in Delaware County, and near his country seat at Avondale he worked a quarry, which supplied a great deal of the stone used in the building of the Philadelphia houses. One of his chief claims to remembrance lies in his introduction of tramcar railways in this country. He had the first one constructed at his quarries on Crown Creek in 1809. This road was three-quarters of a mile long, and the cars were drawn by horses.

Leiper was a prominent Democratic politician and presided for years at every large meeting of that party held in Philadelphia, but he never sought public office, although he was a director in the Bank of Pennsylvania and of the Bank of the United States. During the second war with Great Britain, in 1812, Leiper served on the Commission for the defense of Philadelphia. At his death the obituary sketches that appeared seemed to unite in the statement that Leiper was a model citizen. A son of Leiper, George Gray Leiper, became a lay judge in Delaware County, and represented that district in Congress for one term. The elder Leiper died in 1825, in his eightieth year.

At the southeast corner of Ninth and Market streets, now obliterated by the big Gimbel Brothers' store, for five years, or from 1799 to 1804, Oliver Evans, one of the ingenious mechanics and inventors for whom Philadelphia early was famed, had his place of business. In 1798 Evans had his shop further down Market street, at 275, the site of the present 705. There he sold flour, bolting cloth and general millers' supplies. But it was because Evans was one of the first men anywhere to drive by steam a vehicle on the roads that he becomes more interesting as motorcars become more numerous.

His "Orukter Amphibolos" was not exactly similar to a modern racing car, or even a runabout, but those who watched its progress out Market street to the Schuylkill river in 1804 were present at one of the most interesting historical events that had its scene in this country. For Evans' ponderous vehicle, which was mainly intended for dredg-

OLIVER EVANS
Inventor and millwright



EVANS'S STEAM CARRIAGE, THE "ORUKTER AMPHIBOLOS"
First "automobile" to make a journey in this country and perhaps the first successful steam carriage in the world

ing the Delaware river, was constructed by him to run either upon land or through the water. Not only was this exhibition a successful demonstration of a horseless wagon, but later, when he attached a paddlewheel to the stern of this flat-bottom scow, and launced it into the Schuylkill river, he was able to steam down that water course to the Delaware and then run it as far up the river as Bristol. It was, as may be imagined, a historical moment in the annals of navigation, as well as the opening of a new motive force on the land.

Evans was a native of Delaware, where he was born in 1755. He had known both Fitch and Rumsey, and he had given both of these men, whose names are connected with steam navigation, important advice, which neither of them seemed inclined to follow. Before this he had invented what is now a widely known apparatus—a conveyor of buckets, run on an endless chain. He used this invention to elevate grain in flour mills, and when, in 1804, the Board of Health of Philadelphia contracted with him for a dredging machine, this system was found to be a part of the dredger. Even as a boy he had dreamed of constructing a wagon that would "go" by steam power, and when the contract for the dredger came to him he had the opportunity he long had sought to develop his several ideas. The endless chain, containing buckets at intervals, was used for the actual work of dredging. This was impelled by his steam engine, and in order to get this dredger to the river—it weighed "the equal to 200 barrels of flour," which means about twenty tons—he decided to have it travel by its own power. The boat was 30 feet long and 12 feet broad. The engine is said to have been of five horsepower. Evans' own account of his trip from Ninth and Market streets to the river is of interest.

> "To show," he wrote, "that both steam carriages and steamboats were practicable (with my steam engine) I first put wheels to it and propelled it by the engine a mile and a half up Market street, and around Centre Square to the river Schuylkill. I then fixed a paddlewheel at the stern and propelled it by the engine down the Schuylkill and up the Delaware 16 miles, leaving all the vessels that were under sail full half way behind me (the wind being ahead), although the application was so temporary as to produce friction, and the flat most illyformed for sailing; all of which was performed in the presence of thousands."

While he was at Ninth and Market streets Evans constructed his first steam engine, which he named the Columbian, and after his exhibition of his steam carriage he tried to interest the managers of the Lancaster Turnpike Company to have him construct similar, but better, vehicles for them by which freight could be carried along their turnpike, thus attempting to anticipate the modern tractors. They declined his proposition. While he had his place at Ninth and Market streets, Evans began the construction of steam engines at the Mars works at Nine and Vine streets. He became involved in a controversy with John Stevens, of Hoboken, who had insisted that Evans had stolen his steam

engine and steamboat idea from him, but in a suit which Evans later brought against Benjamin Chambers for infringement, Evans was successful. Evans made a great many improvements in milling machinery, and published several treatises for the guidance of millers and to explain his steam engine and its application to horseless carriages and to steamboats. He was constantly appealing to Legislatures and to the courts for encouragement and to obtain redress for grievances and infringements on his invention.

He was in New York in April, 1819, when some destructive youth set fire to his iron works at Ninth and Vine streets. The loss of valuable moldings and the monetary loss sustained broke his spirit, and he died within a few days, in his sixty-fourth year. Like many other inventors, he died poor.

About twenty years after Evans left his place at the southeast corner of Ninth and Market streets, it was occupied by T. R. and A. R. Perkins as a dry goods store. The firm certainly was in business there in 1829 and remained until about 1856, when its successors, T. J. Perkins & Co., took the building just across the alley to the south of them, No. 9 South Ninth street. The house was long recognized as one of the reliable, conservative stores, making a specialty of mourning goods. The business was discontinued in 1877, when the property was bought by Leary, Stuart & Co., who have made it a landmark for the book hunter. Early in the last century the house, then No. 7, was occupied by Dr. William Aitken, but he was not long a resident there.

For more than forty years the same familiar façade, with its dress of monster signs, has remained, and while every book hunter refers to it as "Leary's," everyone knows that it is owned by Edwin S. Stuart, who has been Councilman and Mayor of Philadelphia and Governor of Pennsylvania. There really was a Leary in the business once. Indeed, W. A. Leary, who founded the house in 1836 on North Second street, lived long enough to see the business expand to enormous proportions under the hand of his young successor. The elder Leary—for his son of the same name succeeded him—had been a porter in a hotel but decided to start in business for himself. Beginning modestly with a book stall, he soon took the store behind the stall, and in a little while editions of popular books were appearing with his imprint on their titles. All of them were perennially useful volumes, such as "Ready Reckoners." He retired and his son took the business, but the youth he had trained, Edwin S. Stuart, remained. The store had been removed to Fifth and Walnut streets by that time, and the son dying, his young manager bought out the business. When the new post-office at Ninth and Market streets was about to be built, young Stuart decided Ninth and Market streets was a good location for an

LEARY'S, NINTH STREET SOUTH OF MARKET

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, NINTH STREET SOUTH OF MARKET, 1838.

old-book store, and the Perkins property being for sale, it was acquired. Since that time the business has grown to enormous proportions from the judicious use of advertising. The strange feature of this—the central idea which has dominated the publicity and has been stamped on every advertisement of Leary's for the last forty years—is the simple phrase, "Books bought." Never a word about selling them. Naturally, Leary's have acquired more old books than any similar store in the country.

CHAPTER XIX

NINTH STREET TO ELEVENTH—THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE—CAPTAIN ABRAHAM MARKOE—PANORAMAS

In 1795 there were so few buildings on Market street, west of Ninth, that there is a note in the directory of that year to say that they were not numbered, which was given as an excuse for omitting the names of residents of the street beyond that point.

For almost half a century a hotel, or inn, stood at the northwest corner of Ninth and Market streets. The inn, long known as the Spread Eagle, seems to have been opened about the close of the War of 1812. For some years it was a stage house, and the stages that formerly left the corner of Eighth and Market streets for Harrisburg, Sunbury and Pittsburgh subsequently left from this corner. The Harrisburg stage left daily except Sunday, and the Pittsburgh stage went out every Tuesday and Friday mornings at four o'clock. After the house ceased to display the sign of the Spread Eagle, it became known as the Philadelphia House, and was kept at that time—about the middle of the last century—by Bernard Mullen. It was a three-and-a-half-story structure, with its entrance on Ninth street, which also was the bar entrance. The house was popular with the members of the theatrical profession, and nightly attracted many popular players, some of whom resided there.

As we now are at Ninth street, it might be expected that something were said of the Commons, which, by some curious chance, is believed by some good people to have been on the site of the post-office. One reason for this supposition is the rather unsupported assertion that it was from this land that Franklin, accompanied by his grandson, went to fly his kite and "draw the lightning from the clouds." It must be considered that Franklin made this experiment about 1752, and at the time this locality, as has been before mentioned, is believed to have been covered with woods. The woods that remained east of Broad street during the British occupation of the city were cut down for firewood. After the Revolution this part of the city, and for many squares around it, was denuded of trees.

The First City Troop as late as the opening years of the nineteenth century occasionally drilled on the Commons, which certainly then was within a few squares of Ninth and Market streets, but whether north or south of it is still a matter for argument, but to some who have

JENKINS
COTTAGE
HARDWARE

given the subject attention it seems certain they were at that time probably south and west of this corner.

About two-thirds of the block bounded by Ninth, Tenth, Chestnut and Market streets was patented to Abraham Markoe, who was the first Captain of the First City Troop, in 1782–83. A strip, about 150 feet wide fronting on Market street, and extending along Ninth was patented to another but finally was forfeited to the State. A short distance west of Ninth, on the south side of Market street, Captain Markoe lived for many years, and certainly his mansion that was erected on this lot was occupied as early as 1785. There is a belief that it had been erected there about the time of the Revolution, in which Captain Markoe began to take a very active part, but, as will be seen, this did not last long. The southwest corner of the streets mentioned in 1801 was occupied by John Smith, a house carpenter.

Markoe was one of several brothers who were engaged in the West Indian trade, principally in sugar and rum. They were natives of Denmark, and appear to have continued subjects of that country until the Revolution was at an end, at least. At the first sign of the necessity for a struggle, twenty-eight Philadelphia gentleman, Markoe among them, formed a troop of Light Horse, subsequently known as the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry. While the prime mover of the organization has not been discovered with certainty, there are evidences that Markoe was the real founder. It is said that so far as known he had no military training, but when the troop was organized in 1774 he was at once elected captain. He designed, or at least presented to the troop, its standard, and the original is still preserved in its armory. This was in 1775, and from the fact that in one corner of the flag are thirteen stripes, alternate silver and blue, it has been suggested that our own Stars and Stripes may have been designed by adapting and altering these stripes in the City Troop's flag. If this theory is the correct one, the real designer of the flag, so long unknown, may have been Markoe himself. The suggestion is not offered without some grounds for belief, for it was the first American flag to have the thirteen stripes, but, of course, it contains no stars.

Markoe, who was a native of Santa Cruz, now a possession of the United States, had come to this country when he was a very young man. He was born in 1727, and the date of his arrival may have been about the middle of the eighteenth century. It is evident that he took a lively interest in the troop, but Denmark, having on October 4, 1775, issued an edict of neutrality, Captain Markoe, still owning property in Santa Cruz, which was in danger of confiscation, wisely resigned his command as soon as he heard the news, in 1776. It is said that he was present at the Battle of the Brandywine, but whether as soldier, which is unlikely, or as spectator, is not known. He went to Lancaster with a

large number of Philadelphians upon the coming of the British, and remained there until the evacuation of Philadelphia by the King's forces. He died in Philadelphia in 1806.

During the latter years of the eighteenth century Philadelphians were accustomed in good weather to stroll out on a Sunday afternoon and take a look at two of the immense mansions that generally were regarded as follies. One of these was the extravagant and unfinished house which was being built for Robert Morris on the lot on Chestnut street between Seventh and Eighth, with which we are not now concerned, and the other was the spacious brick structure erected by the State of Pennsylvania for the President of the United States on the west side of Ninth street, a little south of Market.

This is the building intended to have been the Executive Mansion, but which never was tenanted by either Washington or Adams, while they resided here as heads of the nation. It has been related that Washington would not reside in the building because of its size and the large expense needed to keep it open, but this, of course, is a mere legend that has no foundation in fact, for the building was not completed during the administration of the first President. Adams, it is true, did not feel like occupying the vast building, which was almost the size of a palace, but it is likely that the commissioners who had the work in their charge would have been hard put at it had he desired to move there, for much difficulty was encountered in its completion.

Fortunately, one of the commissioners appointed by the Legislature who was placed in charge of the work was Jacob Hiltzheimer, whose name will always be kindly remembered by all who desire to know something of local history during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, during which period he kept a most entertaining diary. Hiltzheimer, who at this time lived at No. 1 South Seventh street, next to the corner of Market, in a house that was only removed about twenty-five years ago, was a prosperous horse merchant. He was one of the founders of the German Society, was a member of the Legislature, and during the Revolution he was a member of the Committee of Safety. It was as a member of that body that he marched in procession from the Masons' Lodge to the State House yard on July 8, 1776, to hear John Nixon read the Declaration of Independence. But what has insured his fame in Philadelphia has been his diary.

Soon after the seat of the National Government had been removed to this city, a movement was begun to erect a suitable mansion for the President. It was known that Washington was not entirely suited with his cramped quarters in the Morris House on Market street, for his official family as well as his immediate connections made a houseful, but he had the best mansion in the city proper, and it also had the advantage of being convenient to the Congress Hall and to all de-

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

HOUSE ERECTED FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
NINTH STREET SOUTH OF MARKET

Built by the State of Pennsylvania it never was occupied by a National Executive. In the distance is shown the old city almhouse at Tenth and Spruce streets.

partment headquarters, which in 1790 was worth considering, for neither highways nor means of conveyance were as good as they might have been.

In August, 1790, the Common Council appointed a committee to consult with a member of the Assembly as to the method of raising funds for the erection of a "Federal House," as it then was called. There were other meetings, and finally the Assembly was appealed to to furnish an appropriate house for the President. The Legislature was liberal. It appropriated £20,000 for the purchase of a lot and the erection of a building. The Governor at the same time was authorized to borrow this sum, and the act provided that the lot should be purchased west of Ninth street.

By a curious interpretation of this wording the lot at the southwest corner of Ninth and Market streets was bought for £5491 and from Captain Markoe, the ground adjoining on Ninth street, extending to Chestnut, was acquired for £1500. It is true that the lot was on the west side of Ninth street, but it is a nice question if that location could be considered west of that thoroughfare. If that question ever was raised it does not appear, and certainly no serious opposition to the plan for that reason followed.

The properties were purchased in the early part of the year 1792, and in April a party consisting of Governor Mifflin, Richard Wills, Colonel Francis Gurney, Joseph Rakestraw and General Irvine visited the lot, and a short time later it was regulated. The commissioners responsible for the work on the structure consisted of Hiltzheimer, Richard Wills and Colonel Gurney. Hiltzheimer from that time until the house finally was handed over as finished was accustomed to visit the work twice every day when he was in the city, and he has been careful to note the progress from time to time in his diary.

The stone used in the mansion came from the quarries of Robert Morris, and on May 10, 1792, the cornerstone was laid by Governor Mifflin and the three commissioners. "The Governor," notes Hiltzheimer, "ordered $16 worth of drink, with bread and cheese, for the people present."

The brick used in the structure came from several brick kilns. The stock brick cost £5 per 1000, and the common brick 32s. 6d. per 1000. By July 2d the carpenters were putting down the first floor, and on July 4th the operation was opened to admit "the artillery company to get in out of the rain until they fired the salute of fifteen guns in honor of Independence Day." When the first floor was finished the workers were given "a round of beef, ham and punch to celebrate." On November 6th President Washington read his annual message to Congress, and at noon on that day a salute of fifteen guns was fired at Ninth and Market streets "because the President delivered his message."

By December 1st the fourth floor and some of the rafters were put on the house, and Hiltzheimer notes that one hundred and eighty persons were at the raising supper, with Mayor Clarkson, Judge James Biddle and other worthies.

Although considerable progress seems to have been made on the house within a few months after the work had been started, the money for the purpose was soon exhausted. In completing his accounts in January, 1793, Hiltzheimer mentions that almost one million bricks had been used in the construction. In February it was estimated that £5000 were needed to finish the building. When he heard that report Mr. Gallatin rose in his place and offered a substitute for the report to the effect that the passage be made to read "to sell the house and lot in its present state." "This unreasonable motion," comments the diarist, "did not prevail, and £2500 were added to the £5000."

In September, 1795, the work was again resumed, and twenty-three men were at work on the circular stairs alone. But the house still was incomplete. The following September the eagle which had been set up on the cupola had to be removed and repaired, and finally, in November, 1797, the commissioners examined and signed their accounts and lodged them with the Receiver General. The structure now was regarded as finished, but still it was empty. In 1798 what appears to have been the first use made of the house is noted in the diary. This was a meeting of a committee of the House of Representatives on a memorial praying for the incorporation of a company to build a bridge across the Delaware river at Trenton.

The declination of President Adams to receive favors from the Pennsylvania Legislature left the handsome "Federal House" on the hands of the State, and just before the seat of government was removed to Washington, or in March, 1800, the building and ground were put up at auction and sold. Fortunately, the University of Pennsylvania, which had enlarged its scope, and required larger quarters than were being occupied on Fourth street below Arch, saw in the sale an opportunity to buy a building more spacious than the one the institution occupied, and one that could be adapted for the purposes of an educational institution. Had this not been the case the building probably would have been sold for the mere price of the lot, for it could not have been used for many purposes at that time. That is why the University was able to get possession of the desirable property for less than half of what it had cost the State of Pennsylvania, or forty-one thousand six hundred and fifty dollars. The necessary alterations were made in the house, and the University moved in in 1802. The institution remained there, subsequently rebuilding on the lot, until it was removed to West Philadelphia in 1872. Later the property was sold to the Federal Government for the present Post-office and Federal Build-

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, NINTH STREET SOUTH OF MARKET, 1829

The Institution purchased the unused "President's House" in 1802, and added to it the wing shown at the left. In 1829 the building was removed and two structures alike in design were erected. One of these was devoted to the medical department. The site was vacated in 1874, and the present Post Office built upon it.

ing. This structure, which was long in the course of erection, was finally opened in March, 1884, although the United States Circuit Court had held a session in the building in January the same year, and a week later the Money Order Division of the Post-office began business.

In 1785 there were no houses on the north side of Market street, between Ninth and Tenth, but on the south side of this square there seem to have been four residents. At or near the corner was John Whittle, and next to him Abraham Markoe. From Markoe's house to near Tenth street there were vacant lots, then came the house of Philip Rybout, and next to him Edward Turner.

In 1791 the only resident of the square on the north side of the street was James Traquair, a stone cutter, whose yard was set down as near Tenth street. On the south side of the street at this time Markoe was still to be found, but the only other occupant of this side was John Miller, also a stone cutter, whose place of business was near Tenth street.

When about sixteen years ago the late Thomas Martindale, who had long occupied the northeast corner of Tenth and Market streets as a grocery, was preparing to enlarge his store by taking in the building next door, he issued a little pamphlet giving some of the history of that corner, and the story deals with these two stone cutters, Traquair and Miller, who it appears became fast friends and partners, and then fell out and became just as firm enemies. There is no need to go into this history now, for it was entirely a private matter, and neither man seems to have been prominent outside of his business, but the history of the property is not without interest. It appears that the property originally was sold by Penn to John Furley, and in 1744 it passed into the hands of trustees of "the association of the late Doctor Bray, for the education of the negroes in the British plantations," and in 1786 Benjamin Franklin and Francis Hopkinson, attorneys for the associates of Doctor Bray, sold a part of the land to James Traquair and John Miller.

The lot thus sold is said to have been forty feet wide on Market street, and to have extended back one hundred and six feet. In 1792 Traquair and Miller divided their lot, and by mutual consent the corner lot was to have a width of eighteen feet and the next one to have twenty-two feet front. They drew lots, and the corner fell to Traquair, who in 1801 erected a three-and-a-half-story residence there. Miller next door erected a building with a marble front, which is now painted.

Additional interest has been given to the building which stood on the corner until 1902, from the fact that in the back second story of that house about the middle of the last century an amateur dramatic association that was favorably known here, and called The Boothean, in honor of the elder Booth, held forth. This organization at one time

gave its performances in the old Assembly Buildings, at Tenth and Chestnut streets, and the amateurs also occupied rooms in other parts of the city in later years. One of the young actors who is said to have been a member of this organization was John McCullough, who became famed as a tragedian on the American stage.

While we are on this side of Market street we should not neglect one who for forty years was one of the best-known residents in the square. This was Joseph J. Mickley, who sold pianos and musical instruments generally at 927. In many ways Mr. Mickley, in his love for music and for little art objects, coins, etc., resembled the Cousin Pons of Balzac. In some measures, too, he was just such another genial, simple man as the French romancer's hero. Mr. Mickley nearly always had at his house of an evening a group of fellow enthusiasts. They came with introductions from various parts of the country, for the fame of his collections, especially his coin collection, had been spread. He had collections of autographs, of historical documents, manuscripts, books and prints and musical instruments. The amateurs in those lines were glad of an opportunity of seeing "Daddy" Mickley's treasures, and Mr. Mickley always was just as delighted to exhibit his choice possessions.

Unfortunately, some of the so-called amateurs who visited him not only sequestered three of his most valued gold coins, but they are believed to have organized a burglary which resulted one night in Mr. Mickley losing all of his collection of foreign coins, which was regarded as one of the best in this country. The value of the coins taken is said to have been more than nineteen thousand dollars. It was a sad blow to the old collector, but, while he was deeply affected by the loss, he lived for eleven years afterward.

Born in Lehigh County in 1799, Mr. Mickley came to Philadelphia as a lad and learned the trade of pianomaker. In 1822 he started in business for himself, and in 1831 the Franklin Institute awarded him a prize for his skill in manufacturing pianos. For the first twenty years he was in business his store was at 67 North Third street, and in 1842 he removed to 927 Market street, where he remained until he retired from business in 1869. It has been said that although he learned the trade of pianomaking, he never actually manufactured, but was a lover of music, and until almost the end of his days was accustomed to tune pianos for his old customers and friends. The robbery, which occurred in 1867, turned the old collector's thoughts to other things. He was then nearing his seventieth year, and when he did reach seventy he retired, and made arrangements for a tour of Europe. For the next four years he spent his time in Sweden, Denmark and other countries, studying the documents that threw light upon the Swedish occupation of the Delaware. When he was seventy, he began the study of the

Swedish language that he might be in position to properly carry on his researches in the foreign libraries.

In Stockholm he found a paper by Peter Minuit, which was written in a language which none in the library could translate. Mr. Mickley desired a translation, but he could not remove the paper, so he had several copies of it made, and these he sent to as many professors in various European universities, and then, in the course of his tour, went around and collected the translations. From the material he collected on this tour he prepared an interesting history of the Swedes on the Delaware which he read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania upon his return. Mr. Mickley died in his eightieth year, in 1878, but not on Market street, which property he left permanently when he began his European trip.

MacPherson's Directory for 1785 announces on its title that it contains the names of residents only as far westward as Tenth street, and on Market street the residential portion certainly did not extend much farther west in that year. There was little in this square to interest us until ten years after that year. In 1795 Edward Savage, an able painter and engraver, exhibited a panorama, the first ever seen in this city, in a circular building on Market street between Tenth and Eleventh. This panorama, which was painted by Savage, depicted the city of London, and for some time attracted great attention. The building afterward was used for other purposes, and it is said to have been demolished by the fall of its roof in the winter of 1805, when the weight of snow was too great for the supports, and the structure was crushed.

Right in this block, too, in a building which still stands at 1008 and 1010, George W. Kendrick, an ancestor of the Receiver of Taxes, kept the White Horse, a farmers' hotel, about fifty years ago. This probably was the same house in which, in 1801, Justice Thomas Smith resided.

Justice Smith, who was a half-brother of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the first provost of the University of Pennsylvania, although a man of great prominence, especially in the western part of the State in the last half of the eighteenth century, is all but unknown today. A few years ago his fame was refreshed by a biography written by Dr. Burton A. Konkle, which revealed to the majority of readers an entirely new personage. He was born in Scotland and came to this country in 1769. He went to the frontier of the State soon after his arrival to become deputy surveyor, and a few years later Governor John Penn appointed him Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Bedford County. In 1794 he was appointed an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and remained upon the Supreme bench until his death in 1809. He was then sixty-four years of age. His remains were interred in the graveyard of Christ Church.

In the early part of the last century John Struthers, a young Scotchman, who learned the profession of architect under William Strickland in this city, and received some practical experience in architecture and building by assisting in the erection of the Second Bank of the United States, now the Custom House, had his marble yard and his residence on the south side of Market street between Tenth and Eleventh. In those days Struthers' residence was 358 and his marble works next door at 360. When the numbers were changed in 1857, 360 became 1022, which is on the eastern end of the site of the New Bingham Hotel.

Struthers was very successful, and in 1822, when it was decided to remove Washington's remains from their original resting place to a newly constructed vault at Mount Vernon, he designed and erected at his own expense the new vault, which still contains the remains of the first President. He had many large marble contracts, and his son William, who succeeded him, had the contract for nearly all the marble and stone work of the City Hall. Struthers removed his works from Market street below Eleventh to the western part of the city in the 60's.

In the back part of the remnant of the old Struthers works on Market street the sculptor, Joseph A. Bailly, a French artist, who was in business here from early in the 50's until his death about thirty-five years ago, had his studio, after he moved from Eighth and Jayne streets, and after Struthers vacated his premises Bailly's studio was in the back part of the Market street lot, and his entrance was from the small street between Chestnut and Market streets, then called Marble alley. Bailly was the sculptor of the Washington statue which stood in front of Independence Hall until its removal to the City Hall a few years ago. He also carved the statue of Franklin which stands on the corner of the Public Ledger Building, and which originally stood over the entrance to the Franklin Market at Tenth street below Market. This building was afterward occupied by the Mercantile Library. He was an artistic sculptor as well as a commercial artist, and at least one of his works is to be found in the collections of the Academy of the Fine Arts.

At the southeast corner of Eleventh and Market streets is what may be called the oldest hotel in this city, for it has been almost continuously a public house for the last hundred years. Thomas Leiper, to whom we alluded in a previous chapter, is said to have been the capitalist who erected the original building in 1812. At least a part of the original structure remains, but the house has been materially altered and enlarged, and it takes a keen eye to detect where there is anything remaining of the hotel built 106 years ago. Leiper, who was not a hotelkeeper himself, but a tobacconist, who made a fortune in snuff, and who owned quarries near the city, selected William Renshaw, who

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD STATION AND UNITED STATES HOTEL, 1853
These were at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Market streets

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JOHN STRUTHERS
He constructed at his own expense the Washington vault at Mt. Vernon

had kept the old mansion of William Bingham, at Third and Spruce streets, as a hotel, to manage the new house, which was called the New Mansion House. It is declared that this was the first large hotel in the city to be erected for that use, but in 1812 it must have required some courage to plant a hotel so far west as Eleventh street. However, Renshaw took the house and ran it for four years, when he returned to Third and Spruce streets and reopened the Bingham Mansion as the Washington Hotel, next to which he erected Washington Hall.

After Renshaw left Eleventh and Market streets the house was unoccupied, and in 1823 the newly instituted Pennsylvania Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb was located in the Mansion House. Within a few years the institution had its own buildings at Broad and Pine streets, and in 1825 it left Eleventh and Market streets to occupy them. It was while the asylum was on Market street that Albert Newsam, the deaf and dumb artist, was admitted there and received his education. The original Mansion House at Eleventh and Market streets was a large, three-and-a-half-story structure, with a wide entrance on Market street. After it had ceased to house the institution for the deaf and dumb the building became a fashionable boarding house, and about 1836 considerable addition was made to it along Eleventh street, and once more it was called the New Mansion House.

When Matthew Newkirk combined the three roads, which became known as the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, in 1842, the properties next to the Mansion House on Market street and on Eleventh street were secured, and the company erected its first depot in this city. This depot was the only one the company owned here until the completion of the brown-stone station at Broad and Prime streets, now Washington avenue, ten years later. Then in 1854 the Pennsylvania Railroad secured the old depot at Eleventh and Market streets, and occupied it for passengers and freight for several years, and later for freight only. It was partly used for traffic until the first few years of the 70's, although most of the business had been transferred to Fifteenth and Market streets, but about 1876 the last of the tracks were taken up on Market street east of Broad.

With the advent of a railroad depot next to it, a new career was opened for the old hotel. Considerable alteration was made in its appearance at that time, and a spacious double-decked porch extended across the Market street front of the building. The whole building was altered just after the Civil War, during which period the house bore the name of the United States Hotel. It appears that the name later given the hotel, the Bingham House, was not derived from Senator William Bingham, but from John Bingham, an early express and freight agent, who had associations with the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, and who had his place of business on the

premises. The whole house has been transformed during the last fifteen years, and the New Bingham Hotel bears very little likeness to the original Mansion House of a century ago.

We already have had something to say of the first panorama exhibited in this city, which was shown on Market street by Savage, and in this connection it is interesting to note that another panorama was exhibited in this neighborhood not many years after Savage's building was demolished. Daniel Bowers in 1816 erected a circular building on the east side of Eleventh street, just north of Market, specially designed for the showing of what later became known as cycloramas. The first picture shown was a panorama of New Haven, Conn. This was exhibited in 1817, when it is presumed the structure was finished.

It is evident that Bowers received some encouragement for the same year he put in a panorama of Philadelphia by James Kudder, an American painter, and the following year Marquis' panorama for Paris was shown in this building. It in turn was followed in the same year by a much-heralded panorama of the Battle of Paris. This was eighteen feet in height and one hundred and fifty feet long, and the claim was made for it in the advertisements that it showed one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers engaged in battle. Thomas Aston Barker, the painter of this panorama, which had been successfully shown in London before being brought to Philadelphia, was a son of Robert Barker, an Edinburgh artist, who was the inventor of this form of picture. It is evident that the Battle of Paris was successful, for in 1819 Barker's panorama of the Battle of Waterloo, which is said to have contained two thousand four hundred and forty square feet of painted canvas, was shown in this building on Eleventh street.

Bowers' panorama building remained open until 1821, and, in addition to the paintings already mentioned, there was exhibited a panorama of the Palace and Gardens of Versailles, painted by the American painter, John Vanderlyn, from sketches made by the New York painter himself. Bowers afterwards became the proprietor of the Boston Museum.

This panorama building, however, was not the second or even third structure of the kind erected in this city. Strangely enough all of them were either on Market street or close to that thoroughfare. The second panorama structure was that which was put on the north side of Market street, between Eleventh and Twelfth, in 1805, and in it was shown a panorama of the Battle of Lodi. This remained on exhibition for six months, when it was succeeded by another, the subject of which was the Battle of Alexandria. This was painted by Robert Ker Porter, and is said to have had an area of six thousand square feet of canvas. Great stress was laid in the advertisements on the fact that in the foreground were to be found the correct portraits of more than ninety

HENRY ASTON BARKER's Panorama, Leicester-Square.
DESCRIPTION
OF THE REPRESENTATION
OF THE
BATTLE OF
PARIS,
Fought on the 30th of March, 1814.
The View was taken on the Butte St. Chaumont, the Heights on which the Treaty of Chaumont was signed.
THE LARGE CIRCLE CONTAINS
The Battle of Vittoria.
Open from 10 till Dusk.—Admittance to each 1s.
1815.
J. Adlard, Printer, 23, Bartholomew-close.
Abbey and Village of St. Denis.
In the Plain below is seen
Part of Blucher's Army
Montmartre.
Butte St. Chaumont.
Belleville lies behind this Smoke.
Russian Grenadiers engaged with French Light Infantry of the Line.
The Bois de Romainville lies behind this Smoke.
The Butte St. Chaumont.
CITY OF PARIS.
Entrance to the Circle.

ADVERTISEMENT BARKER USED IN LONDON
His panorama was shown at Eleventh and Market streets in 1818

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British officers. Afterwards there was shown there a View of Baltimore. The building was removed in 1809.

In those days there was almost as deep-rooted a craze for panoramas as there is at present for moving pictures. There was very little offered for the recreation of Philadelphians, aside from the performances at the old Chestnut Street Theatre, or at one or another of the circuses, for nearly every winter there was at least one circus in the city. In addition to these rather tame forms of entertainment, there also were the concerts and the visits of occasional human or animal "freaks." Consequently the panoramas and later the diaramos, as they came to be called, afforded a new sensation for the intellectual Philadelphians of the time.

CHAPTER XX

ELEVENTH STREET TO TWELFTH, AND TWELFTH STREET TO THIRTEENTH—JOHN DUNLAP'S HOUSE AND ITS DISTINGUISHED OCCUPANTS—RICKETTS' CIRCUS—NATIONAL HALL

The square from Eleventh street to Twelfth and from Market street to Chestnut was first improved by John Dunlap, who erected a mansion at the southeast corner of Twelfth and Market streets in 1790. There is a view of this historic mansion that shows it nicely framed in rows of trees and very attractive in appearance. Dunlap did not occupy the whole of this large lot, but on Twelfth street, below his mansion, were two other houses which he rented. Dunlap was one of the subscribers to the loan to build the first water works, in 1801, and from the report of the Water Committee we learn that he received water free of rent for three houses on this lot. It should be added, however, that he paid twenty-four dollars a year rent for the fountain in his garden.

Dunlap, like many others whom we have mentioned in our walk out Market street, was a prominent man in Philadelphia in his day. He acquired a large fortune as a printer and publisher, and was in every way a useful citizen and a devoted patriot. He was born in 1747 in Ireland, and seems to have come to this country as a mere lad, for he was apprenticed to his uncle, William Dunlap, a printer and publisher here. In 1771 he began the publication on his own account of the *Pennsylvania Packet,* and in 1784 transformed it into a daily, the first daily newspaper to be issued in this country. He was appointed printer to the Continental Congress, and had the honor of printing the official copy of the Declaration of Independence, which, after it had been signed by Hancock, as President of Congress, was sent to the heads of the original states. An active member of the First City Troop, of which he became captain, he went with the organization to Trenton and Princeton as bodyguard to Washington.

It does not appear that the mansion at Twelfth and Market Streets was occupied by Dunlap until 1797. Its first tenant appears to have been Edmund Randolph, of whom we have spoken in a former chapter. The house generally was regarded as the finest in the city, and had for its tenants some of the foremost personages in Philadelphia. Westcott has given a list of them, and to repeat this list is to prove the assertion of the character of its occupants.

SOUTHEAST CORNER OF TWELFTH AND MARKET STREETS, 1800

Residence of John Dunlap, Joseph Bonaparte and other distinguished persons

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JOHN DUNLAP

Soldier, editor, and printer of the first daily newspaper in the United States

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32 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET, WHERE ROBERT MORRIS DIED, 1806

This is the site of the Commonwealth Title and Trust Company Building. When the great financier lived here it was numbered 2.

After Randolph left the house it became the French Legation. In 1792 Chevalier Jean de Ternant occupied it, and the following year the celebrated and notorious Citizen Genet was its tenant. Then in turn Joseph Fauchet, as French Minister, lived there, and his successor, for they were changed frequently in those stirring days of the French Revolution, was M. Adet, who lived there in 1795. Dunlap moved in in 1797 and lived there until the time of his death, in 1812.

In 1815 the residence was occupied by Baron de Kantzow, Minister from Sweden. In 1817 Joseph Bonaparte, the Count de Survilliers, ex-King of Spain, was there, and in 1824 the house sheltered Charles Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canine and Mussignano, son of Lucien Bonaparte, with his wife, Princess Zenaide Charlotte Julie, daughter of Joseph Bonaparte. Dr. John Y. Clark, husband of Baroness Lallemand, a niece of Stephen Girard, with that lady, occupied the house in 1825.

It was about that time that Girard bought the entire square, and it is said that his first intention was to have erected his college for orphan boys on this property. But not long before his death he purchased the estate on the Ridge road, where his famous institution finally was erected. In 1834, after this property had passed to the city in trust, the corner property at Twelfth and Market streets rented for $708 a year. Rentals are a little higher in this locality now, and a stand on the corner would bring in more than was then given for the finest mansion in the city. While yellow fever was epidemic in Philadelphia in 1797 the Post-office was located in Dunlap's stable. In 1798, when the fever again was a plague here, the Post-office was located in a building on the north side of Market street above Eleventh. The block is now occupied by the department store of N. Snellenburg & Co.

Westcott notes that south of Dunlap's house, on Twelfth street, were two other dwellings, in one of which, he says, Paul Busti a merchant, of whom we shall have occasion to refer to a little later, lived, and in the other, he states, Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, lived and died. This note to Morris appears to be erroneous, for when he died, in 1806, he dwelt at 2 South Twelfth street, and that, of course, was on the opposite side of the street. As a matter of fact in 1806 No. 2 South Twelfth was quite near to Chestnut street, and the building was standing there until 1901, when the Commonwealth Title and Trust Company erected its office building on the site. It then bore the number 32.

At the southwest corner of Twelfth and Market streets, in 1792, John B. Ricketts opened a riding academy. His announcement in Dunlap's *Daily Advertiser* mentioned that he was lately from London, and "respectfully acquaints the public that he has erected at a very considerable expense a circus, where he purposes instructing ladies and

gentlemen in the elegant accomplishment of riding." According to the advertisement the circus was opened on October 25th, and a note advises that the gentlemen's hours for instruction were from 8 to 11 in the morning and the ladies from 11 to 2. In addition to his riding academy Ricketts also conducted a circus, and seems to have abandoned his original intention of maintaining only a school. The circus became an almost instant success. Its respectability was assured when President Washington appeared there one evening. After that every night there was a performance there were from 600 to 700 persons in the audience.

Ricketts is said to have been a pupil of Hughes, who was proprietor of the circus near Blackfriars Bridge, London, and was generally conceded by his contemporaries to have been the best man in his line of business to come to this country. Accompanying Ricketts was a younger brother, Master Francis Ricketts, who became an excellent rider and tumbler.

He was the most extraordinary equestrian who had come to this country up to the close of the eighteenth century. His feats of horsemanship and daring acrobatic exercises were duly appreciated by Philadelphians who were properly amazed and delighted with his wonders. Says one contemporary account of his performance:

> His leaping over ten horses—riding with a boy on his shoulder in the attitude of a Mercury—going through the manual exercise with a firelock—dancing a hornpipe on the saddle, the horse being in full speed, &c., &c. In short, the Circus has been esteemed amongst the first amusements met with in this truly astonishing Metropolis.

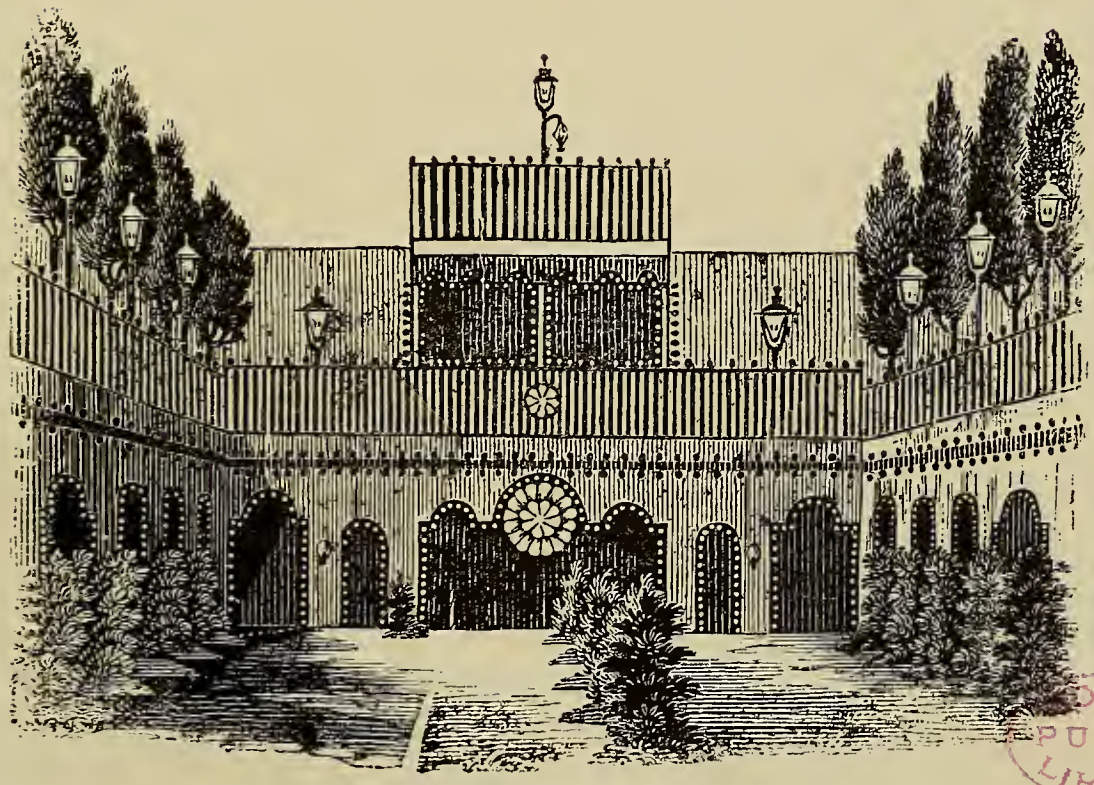
Mr. Ricketts also found a place in the hearts of the inhabitants by freely giving charity benefits for the relief of the fugitives from the West India insurrection, for the fuel fund for the poor; and as a result his circus was the most popular, as it was the most sensational amusement in the city.

Ricketts' riding academy also proved successful in its early stage, and it numbered among its pupils Robert Morris, the financier, who took a lively interest in equestrian exercises. Ricketts had a good company, and for a time the circus was a riding school by day and a circus in the evening. The circus seems to have been first opened in the spring of 1793, and in 1795 Ricketts removed from Twelfth and Market streets to Sixth and Chestnut streets, where he erected a larger and finer circus on the site now covered by the *Ledger* Building.

In 1859 and 1860, when there was a general movement throughout the city, or at least in the central part of it, toward the erection of new and modern markets, owing to the removal of the sheds in the middle of the street, two large market houses were erected on the north side of Market street between Eleventh and Twelfth. One of

Mr. RICKETTS.

AN EQUESTRIAN FEAT BY MR. RICKETTS



TIVOLI (OR COLUMBIAN) GARDEN, 1822

these, the first to be started, was about in the middle of the square. This was called the Farmers' Market, and was regarded as the finest, as it was the largest market shed of its kind in the city. Next to this, at the corner of Twelfth street, was erected the Franklin Market, but it always was referred to by old housekeepers as the Twelfth Street Market. The Franklin Market Company had originally put up a handsome building on Tenth street between Market and Chestnut, but this structure was never used for its designed purpose, and was sold to the Mercantile Library Company. The latter has ever since occupied the building, which was altered to suit the purposes of a library.

About 1890 the long-expected move of the Reading Railroad to a more central site for its station was arranged by the company providing to run its lines from Ninth and Green streets down to Twelfth and Market streets.

It is rather curious that in this very praiseworthy action, which meant an increase in railway facilities for Philadelphia, the corporation should have met with considerable opposition. The principal reason for the opposition seems to have originated among persons who believed that the company should not be allowed to construct an elevated structure, but should come down to Market street under ground. The whole question was discussed at numerous meetings, and it was shown that this suggestion was impracticable, and also rather costly. Finally the company received the necessary permission by ordinance, and the work of elevating the Reading began. The Reading Terminal was finally built, and was first opened for traffic on January 20, 1893. It was the beginning of improvements all along Market street east of Twelfth, and no more was heard of the opposition to an elevated structure.

In that first plan of the city of Philadelphia, prepared by Holme for Penn, and which the Founder of Pennsylvania appears to have approved on his first visit, Twelfth street is named Broad, and bisects the town almost exactly in the middle. The intersection of Twelfth and High (or Market) streets is laid out in a square, and as this was virtually the centre of the city, the plot was naturally called by the inhabitants Centre square. On this first plan, or "platform" as it was called, only Broad and High streets were named and Twelfth street's original name was Broad.

There is a letter of Robert Turner, one of the first purchasers and settlers in Philadelphia, to Penn, bearing date of August 3, 1685, in which he informs the proprietary that

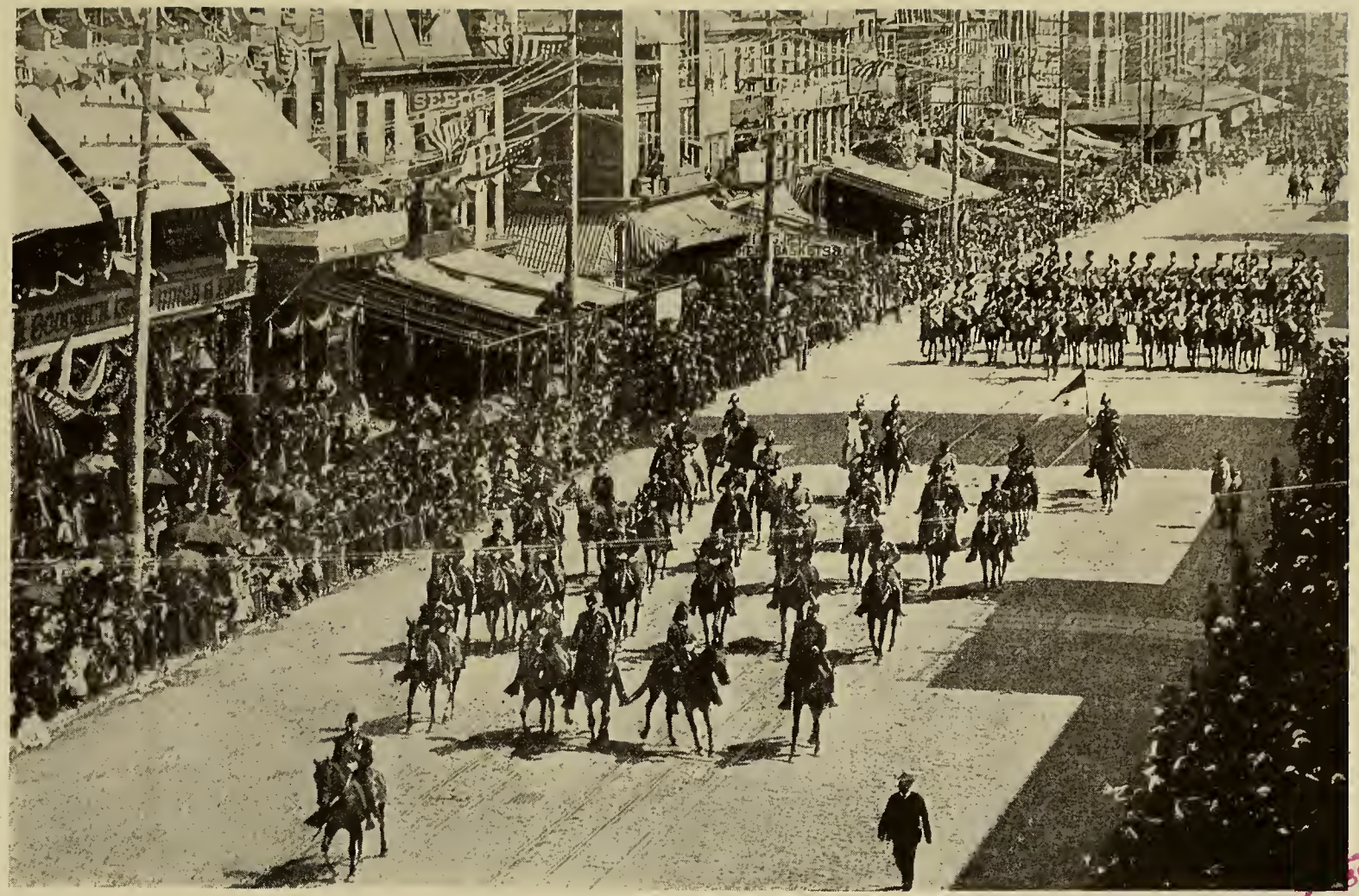
> we are now laying the foundation of a new brick meeting house in the Centre (60 feet long and about 40 feet broad), and hope to soon have it up, there being many hearts and hands at work that will do it. A large meeting house, 50 feet long and 38 broad, also is going up in the front of the river for an evening meeting.

There is a difference of belief as to the exact location of the Centre Meeting House. On the one side, judging from Holme's plan, there are those who believe that this structure was erected near Twelfth and Market streets, while others insist that by that time Broad street had been "moved" to its present location, and that consequently the brick meeting went up on the site of the present City Hall. From any point of view either location must have been inconvenient for the settlers residing in Philadelphia, for the settlement lay along the banks of the Delaware, although it had been imagined that the town would grow along the banks of both rivers, and thus the Centre Meeting would be really a central assembly room for the whole city. At the time Broad and Market streets was reached by a rough cartway, or road, and part of the distance between the Delaware and Broad street lay through woods. It is said that on a Sunday morning when the Friends would travel out to the Centre Meeting they would frequently disturb wild turkeys and even deer.

Just when the name Broad street was given to the fourteenth street from the Delaware cannot be ascertained with any accuracy, but it must have been at a very early day in the history of the city, and may have been done by Penn himself while he was here. As the plan was published in 1683, it seems probable that the change from Twelfth street to Fourteenth was made subsequent to that year. It has been contended that the present Friends' Meeting on Twelfth street, which was erected in 1812, stands on the site of the original Centre Meeting House, but it will be seen that this is purely a supposition and can be traced to the Holme plan of the city.

We find but little to interest us in the square from Twelfth street to Thirteenth on Market. On the south side, near Thirteenth street, stood National Hall, a structure which was mainly noted for the abolition meetings which were held there. The hall was opened in the early 50's, and was the scene of many mass meetings, fairs and similar efforts to add to the gaiety of nations. During the Civil War there were frequent meetings, concerts and fairs held there, and in 1866 a convention of Southern Loyalists was opened on September 3d. Probably the greatest excitement ever seen in the hall was on the occasion of an Abolitionsists' meeting to protest against the hanging of John Brown in 1859. It was an historic occasion and excitement was very high throughout the city, in which there were a large number of Southern sympathizers as well as Abolitionists. It seems that a large number of the former attended the mass meeting, which ended almost in a riot.

The arrest of Brown also was discussed at a meeting held at National Hall on October 28, 1859. On that occasion Joshua R. Giddings, a venerable Abolitionist, told of the relation he had sustained toward the erratic leader of the Harper's Ferry raid. The hanging



MARKET STREET, EAST OF THIRTEENTH IN 1887

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The photograph shows General Sheridan and staff followed by the First City Troop in the Constitutional Centennial Procession.

of Brown, however, was too much for the Abolitionists. They were not only indignant, but they insisted upon expressing themselves in no uncertain or guarded manner. A meeting was held at National Hall on December 2d. The call had gone out, and the whole city was in a ferment of excitement. James Mott presided, and there were present on the platform Lucretia Mott, Theodore Tilton, Mary Grew and Robert Purvis. The speakers were all allowed to proceed in silence until Purvis arose to address the meeting, and then the storm of hisses which greeted him revealed the presence of a large pro-Southern contingent. For some minutes he was not able to speak for the noise and din. Finally the disturbers became tired and then he began his address, which was a rather remarkable one, and did not tend to pacify the pro-Southern element. His allusion to Brown as a man "who would be looked upon as the Jesus Christ of the nineteenth century," set the meeting on fire again. The uproar continued until Chief Ruggles, with a detail of policemen, appeared, when the meeting was allowed to adjourn.

National Hall, in the summer of 1873, was transformed into a theatre, which at that time was said to have the largest stage in the city outside of the Academy of Music. The New Olympic Theatre, as it was called, was devoted to vaudeville, and had the old actor and dramatist, James Pilgrim, for stage manager. The career of the house was very brief, for between 2 and 3 o'clock on the morning of January 29, 1874, the entire structure was burned by a fire of unknown origin. Two firemen lost their lives when the rear wall fell.

National Hall, and later the Olympic Theatre, occupied the properties 1224 to 1228 Market street, and the ground floor was devoted to business purposes. The theatre never was rebuilt, but an iron front building was put up on the site by Croft, Wilbur & Allen, candy manufacturers.

While we are in the square between Twelfth and Thirteenth streets some note should be made of David Landreth, who was a resident in 1801, but whose seed farm was on Gray's Ferry road. He was one of the founders of the Horticultural Society. He founded the business in 1784.

The square on Market street between Twelfth and Thirteenth was the scene of one of the most disastrous fires in the history of the city. On the morning of October 25, 1901, fire was discovered in the large building of Hunt, Wilkinson & Co., 1219 and 1221, and with a rapidity that was extraordinary the flames mounted from floor to floor. Within a few minutes after the fire had been discovered the whole upper part of the building was in flames. There were many customers and employes on these upper floors, and they found themselves hemmed in.

Some of the victims, who numbered more than twenty, met a ter-

rible death by burning on the fire escapes, and others, terror stricken and confronted by death in fearful form on either side, jumped from the windows, only to be crushed on the sidewalk. A Coroner's jury held in November of that year was unable to discover the cause of the fire, but made a number of recommendations for the better protection of life in large stores. The Franklin Institute, on account of the several disastrous fires then fresh in the public mind, appointed a committee to investigate the "recent disasters by fire and explosions."

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PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD FREIGHT STATION, THIRTEENTH AND MARKET STREETS, 1875

At this time the property had been purchased by John Wanamaker, and Moody and Sankey were holding revival services here.

CHAPTER XXI

THIRTEENTH STREET TO BROAD—FREIGHT STATION OF PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD—TRAGEDIES CONNECTED WITH THE SQUARE—TIVOLI GARDEN

At Thirteenth street, on the site of the Wanamaker store, the Pennsylvania Railroad maintained a freight depot until 1874. The building had been erected in 1853, at which period the passenger depot or station was at the northeast corner of Eighteenth and Market streets. The freight station was abandoned in 1874, when the business was transferred to the Dock street station. The building of the City Hall, which hastened the removal of steam railroad tracks from both Market and Broad streets, made the change necessary, although the business of the company would have compelled the change within a few years at most.

During the Civil War the freight station was the scene of much activity. It was a kind of rendezvous for regiments on their way to the front, and many commands were entrained there for the South. The station also was used to store and distribute ammunition.

After the railroad company removed from the old sheds at Thirteenth street, the Franklin Institute held its largest and most important exhibition in the old buildings. This exhibition was held in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the Institute, and great preparations were made for the show, which was the largest and most interesting fair of its kind that had been given in this city up to that time.

Philadelphians had not ceased talking about the Franklin Institute exhibition before they received a new surprise. It became known that John Wanamaker had purchased the property. However, while Mr. Wanamaker was negotiating for it with Thomas A. Scott, the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, a party of gentlemen had been making arrangements with the evangelists, Moody and Sankey, then holding revivals in Brooklyn, to come to this city. This party consisted of Joshua L. Baily, George H. Stuart and Alexander Whilldin, and later there was a preliminary committee of which Mr. Stuart was chairman, to make arrangements for the evangelists who had consented to hold revivals here.

The committee discovered that there was no suitable large structure in which to hold the services, but it occurred to Mr. Stuart that the abandoned freight depot might serve the purpose. When the com-

mittee went to President Scott they learned that the negotiations for the sale of the property had proceeded so far that it would be necessary to apply to Mr. Wanamaker for the necessary permission to use the old structure. Mr. Wanamaker was then in London, but the committee cabled him and got his consent to use the buildings for three months for a rental of $1.

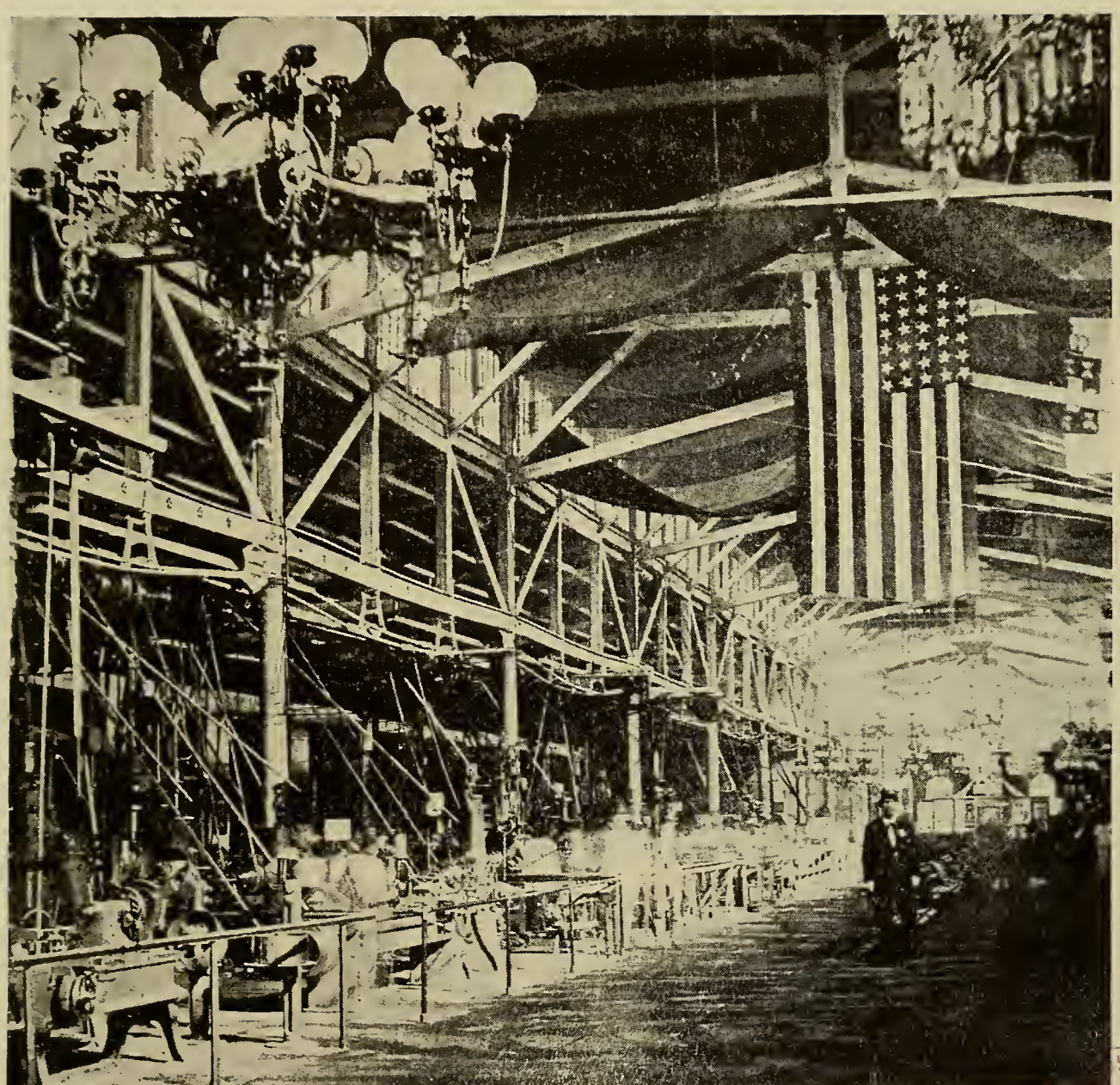
Moody and Sankey held a series of services during three months that had never before been paralleld in this city. Sankey's hymns were sung everywhere and became so popular that many of them were parodied. All of them were tuneful, and many of them inspiring. Moody was a powerful speaker and held the attention of his congregations such as no other evangelist had done before him, with the single exception of Whitefield. During the three months the city was talking of nothing else but the evangelists, and nearly every person felt it necessary to attend at least one service. The services began November 21, 1875, and ended January 28, 1876.

In those days there was not the same attention to the protection of life in public assemblies as there is now, and it would astonish those who in recent years attend the services of Billy Sunday to learn that when Moody and Sankey held their revivals here no person was permitted to leave the building after the service had begun until after it was ended. The doors were guarded, if not locked, and at times there were as many as 13,000 persons in attendance.

Mr. Wanamaker desired to have his big store ready for the Centennial crowds, and within a few minutes after the last hymn had been sung in the last of the Moody and Sankey meetings he had a small army of workmen ready to begin the alterations which were to transform the old freight station into a Grand Depot. The big store was opened on May 6, 1876, but none of the original structure now remains, having been supplanted by the immense granite building now on the site.

On the Juniper street side of the Wanamaker store site were several structures of more or less historical importance. Nearest Chestnut street stood the Pennsylvania State Arsenal for many years, and next to it on the north was erected the first Central High School for Boys. It took Pennsylvania a long time to get under way in its efforts to install a system of public instruction. The first attempts were very modest, indeed, and only the poorest of parents would allow their children to attend these "pauper" or "ragged" schools, as they were somewhat contemptuously termed.

It is more than probable that the publication of the will of Stephen Girard gave the gentlemen responsible for the education of the children of the State an entirely new idea on the subject, and caused them to turn on another tack. This was accomplished by acts of the Legislature



SEMI-CENTENNIAL FAIR OF THE FRANKLIN INSTITUTE, 1874

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The Pennsylvania Railroad Company having abandoned its freight station at Thirteenth and Market streets, the Franklin Institute adapted the structure for its Fair, the most successful and ambitious industrial and mechanical display that had been given in this country up to that time. The exhibition was open from October 6th to November 12th, during which time 296,000 admission tickets were sold.

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in the early 30's, by which the schools were open to rich and poor alike. Immediately the public schools were lifted out of the pauper class, and no parent felt he had suffered any indignity by sending his children to one of them. The magnificence of Girard's bequest to the city for the founding of a college for poor orphan boys seems to have inspired the Controllers of Education in Philadelphia with a desire to do something along the same lines. The result was that in 1836, when Congress passed an act providing for the distribution of surplus revenue among the states, the Legislature of Pennsylvania decided to take advantage of the opportunity and share in the distribution. From the amount received from the National Government the Legislature appropriated $72,000 for a site and construction of a high school in Philadelphia. The building was erected on the Juniper street side, which then faced the broad acres of Penn Square, in 1837, and the following year the school was opened for the reception of pupils. In organizing the new institution, which was to be conducted along such novel lines that it was mainly an experiment, the Controllers of Schools in this city had the good fortune to have the assistance of Dr. Alexander Dallas Bache, who had been chosen president of Girard College, which institution was not then ready for occupancy. Professor Bache, who was a most remarkable man, a scientist of importance and a pedagogue of training and ability, thus became the first president of the Central High School.

Under the guidance of Professor Bache, the high school rapidly achieved a reputation. An astronomical observatory was provided, and under the direction of Professor E. Otis Kendall its fame spread even to Europe. It is said that from this observatory the return of Enke's comet was detected. The station was so admirably equipped with instruments that it was asserted, and admitted, that no college in the country equalled it. Even the Naval Observatory at Washington frequently borrowed parts of the equipment. In addition to the observations made there a journal devoted to astronomy was issued, and generally the school by its activities awakened a new era in astronomical science in this country.

The building on Juniper street was a large and at the time regarded as a modern and model structure for the purpose, but by 1854 it had proved to be too small for the work and a new building was erected at Broad and Green streets. The first school had a notable faculty, and also turned out many boys who later became efficient and prominent citizens of Philadelphia.

At the corner of Juniper and Market streets stood for many years during the first half of the last century a horse market and hotel, which, while a rather shabby and unpretentious structure, was a landmark, and was well known to many Philadelphians of the period. At one time it displayed the sign of the Golden Horse, but, like all the struc-

tures on the lot, it was purchased by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in 1853 and removed.

On Market street east of Juniper stood a little confectionery which boasted of a talkative parrot that would talk for the children coming in with their pennies for candy if they made a purchase. The little confectionery, however, did not get a place in history from this circumstance, but from a far more tragic connection, for an employe of the candy store was Arthur Spring, who committed one of the most shocking murders which had startled the community up to that time.

Spring was an Irishman of about forty-five years of age, in 1853, when the murders were committed. He was a hard drinker and was generally a dissolute character. The first murder mystery which shocked the city was committed in January of that year. A toymaker, Joseph Rink, whose place of business was on Chestnut street below Ninth, was found murdered behind his counter. The victim had been stabbed as he stood with his back to the assassin, and a passerby who saw the murderer make a hasty retreat from the premises gave chase, but the monster escaped. Three months later the city received another shock. Two women, Mrs. Ellen Lynch and her sister, Mrs. Honora Shaw, were murdered in their home, 260 Federal street, above Seventh. The murderer had stabbed the women repeatedly and had finished his ghastly work by beating them with a piece of lead pipe. The bodies were found in the house. A search for the murderer resulted in the arrest of Arthur Spring. It was found that the motive for the murder had been robbery, for one of the women, Mrs. Lynch, was known to have recently received a sum of money from her husband, who was a sergeant in the United States Army. It was learned that the women had been visited by Spring and he was arrested on suspicion. He also was charged with the murder of Rink, from the discovery of an umbrella found in the toymaker's place, which had been identified as Spring's property. The murders furnished a sensation for weeks, and Spring, for some unaccountable reason was made a hero by romantic women. His portrait appeared in the illustrated papers, and he was as much talked of as some of the murderers of later times. He was hanged in Moyamensing Prison on June 10, 1853. Before he went to the scaffold he admitted that the umbrella found in Rink's shop was his, but denied that he had murdered the toymaker.

In this same square, and probably in the very building in which Arthur Spring sold candy, a murder was committed in the fall of 1789, which lived in the memories of the inhabitants like a bad dream for some years. In those days convicts from the prison at Sixth and Walnut streets were taken out to mend the highways, do grading, and other similar tasks. They were popularly known as barrowmen. It appears that in September of the year 1789 a group of these men,

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SOUTHEAST CORNER OF JUNIPER AND MARKET STREETS, 1852

Horse Market Tavern in the foreground and a glimpse of the Central High School to the right.

working around Centre Square went to a pump at Thirteenth and Market streets for water, and on the way managed to learn that a drover, John McFarland, who, with his brother occupied a frame house between Centre Square and Thirteenth street, had just received a large sum of money for cattle. Five of the barrowmen decided they would return at night and rob the brothers, and did succeed in making their escape from the prison and visiting the drovers. The wife of one of the desperadoes accompanied the party. They stopped at Thirteenth and Market streets, where they wrenched the handle from the pump, and then walked on to the frame house of McFarland. They called him to the door, set upon him and beat him while his brother took refuge in a chimney. Finding the drover showed some signs of life, the woman gave him the *coup de grace*. The robbers secured two thousand dollars, but were soon captured and all of them were hanged, excepting the woman, in the usual place for execution in those days—Broad street south of Centre Square at about the junction with the present South Penn Square.

In this square on the north side of Market street was opened the first public garden for theatrical exhibitions and concerts in Philadelphia. This was the Columbian Garden, which was owned by Laurence Astolfi, a confectioner and distiller, for confectioners were the principal manufacturers of cordials in those days. Astolfi opened a place of business at 136 Market street in 1810. Three years later he decided to add a public garden to his other enterprise, and the Columbian Garden was the result. This was a summer theatre, and the first season was largely occupied by the Manfredi Company in a pantomime, and James Fennell, the tragedian, appeared there on one night and gave a recitation, but he was then in his decline as an artist. After this season Astolfi kept the place closed as an amusement centre and conducted it as a mere refreshment garden. The war had a dampening effect upon all amusement enterprises, and it was not until the summer of 1816 that the Columbian Garden was again opened for theatrical entertainment.

The Columbian Garden had an effective competitor in the Vauxhall Garden at Broad and Walnut streets, but the destruction of that place by a mob in 1819 sent amusement seekers back to the Market street house. In the spring of 1820 Astolfi was succeeded by Stanislaus Surin, who had been a success as a conjurer here the previous year. Surin opened the place as the Tivoli Garden, and made it a house where the usual evening's entertainment consisted of three farces. Surin the same year opened a theatre in Prune, now Locust, street, below Sixth, as the Winter Tivoli Theatre, and this playhouse had a varied run of success and failure for three years.

James Rees, the friend and one of the biographers of Edwin For-

rest, declared that it was from an incident that occurred in the Tivoli Garden, when Forrest was a boy of thirteen, that Colonel John Swift afterward made him his protégé and gave him the opportunity to make his appearance as an actor. Of course, at the time the incident happened the garden was called the Columbian. Rees has described the incident in these words:

> We (Colonel Swift and himself) were one evening in the Tivoli Garden, situated on Market street near Broad, north side, some time in the year 1817, when a professor of chemistry was administering what at that time was called "laughing gas." Some very amusing scenes occurred, arising from its effect on those who inhaled it. At last a fine looking lad, whose age might have been about thirteen years, presented himself to the man of science to be experimented upon. As we have observed, he was a fine looking boy, neck bare, a large shirt collar thrown back over that of a blue roundabout; for boys at that period did not wear men's styles of coats. His features were manly, bold, but not forward or impertinent in their varying emotions; he also had a fine head of hair which gathered in clustering curls around his well-formed neck. He was what we should call a model boy. He inhaled the gas; immediately after the bag was removed he started out on the gravel walk, and, throwing himself into a position peculiarly dramatic, he recited a portion of Norval's speech and also of Richard III, but ere he got through the current of his mind changed and he made a dash at the bystanders and a race ensued. The effect of the gas passing off, he came to himself, and, looking wildly upon the laughing crowd, he rushed away and was seen no more in the Garden. That boy was Edwin Forrest.

PENN SQUARES, BROAD AND MARKET STREETS, CLEARED FOR THE ERECTION OF CITY HALL, 1871

The Masonic Temple is shown in course of construction. To the right is the Pennsylvania freight station. The white spire is on the Arch Street Methodist Church, and the dark one on the First Baptist Church at Broad and Arch streets.

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CHAPTER XXII

BROAD AND MARKET STREETS—THE COMMONS—CENTRE SQUARE—EXECUTIONS—WATER WORKS—CITY HALL

It did not require many years to convince the Quakers here that the meeting house at Centre Square was in an inconvenient position, for it does not appear to have thrived and early was abandoned and removed, although it was standing in 1701. As the location was in the centre of the city, or, as contemporary writers said, "west of the city," which, of course, had not been built up so far westward as Broad street until about a century ago, the square became regarded as the Commons.

This term, the Commons, in Philadelphia, especially with reference to times before the Revolution, is a very elastic one. In different periods the Commons was in situations widely separated, but, evidently, never far from Market street. It will be recalled that Franklin's historic experiment with the kite, by which he "drew the lightning from the clouds," was conducted on the Commons. But that leaves a beautifully indefinite idea of the location to the present generation. It has been suggested, and widely believed, that in 1752 the field in which the philosopher made his experiment was on the block bounded by Ninth, Tenth, Chestnut and Market streets. But whether that was the location of the Commons in Franklin's time must be left open. During the Revolution, and for some years after the war for Independence, that indefinable spot was just south of Centre Square, at Broad and Market streets. At a still later date the ground just south of Centre Square and east of Broad street seems to have been referred to as Commons. It has been contended that Franklin's kite-flying experiment was conducted in the northwestern part of the city, in the neighborhood of Ridge avenue and Willow street, but upon what some of these varying beliefs are based is not very obvious. In 1688 a fair was held on the Commons, but if this meant Broad and Market streets it must have been found inconvenient.

That Centre Square and its immediate neighborhood were generally designated as the Commons in the latter decades of the eighteenth century does not admit of argument. The city's western growth was rapid after the Revolution. On the map of the city for 1794 Juniper street is shown extending from Vine to Cedar, or South streets, but it was not until the early years of the last century that it received its name. The demarkation of the Centre Square, which had long been

a mere, roughly delineated circular road, became necessary when the engine house for the Water Works was built in the centre of the plot at the intersection of Broad and Market streets. After that, until the old marble building was removed, both Broad and Market streets were blended in the road which encircled the grounds. The Commons or Centre Square in the last half of the eighteenth century was the picnic grounds for Philadelphians. It was the only park of which the city boasted, although it was entirely unimproved, and was in a part of the town that was almost deserted. However, the advent of the engine house changed the character of the surroundings for the better.

To the south of the Square, in the middle of Broad street, a gallows was erected about the time of the Revolution for the hanging of felons. Until about 1790 executions were publicly held here. In those days to many persons there evidently was nothing repulsive about a public hanging. John Moody was hanged there November 13, 1781. He had been convicted as a spy, it having been testified that he intended to have seized certain books and papers of Congress. On October 16, 1784, James Burke paid the penalty on the gallows there for having murdered and robbed his master, Timothy McAuliffe, who had his place in Water street. On September 18, 1789, the five barrowmen, convicted of the murder of John McFarland, within a hundred yards of the place of execution, were hanged at the same time. They were David Cronan, Francis Burns, John Burnett, John Logan and John Ferguson.

Probably there was larger interest shown among the morbidly curious in the execution of the Doan Boys, the previous year. The story of the adventures of these desperadoes during the Revolution is quite as romantic as any tale of latter-day western bad men. Originally there were seven brothers, who came of a well-behaved pioneer family, but the boys were adventurous, are said to have associated with Indians, and to have taken part in the Wyoming Massacre. It is related of them that they had lived so long among the savages that they could scalp a victim as thoroughly and expertly as any Red man. They were intense Loyalists, and were volunteer spies for the British, who, while they detested them, and reprobated their alleged depredations, used them as they would any other agency.

During their wild career, for more than six years, they are said to have stolen ninety-six horses and plundered innumerable victims. The Doans were immensely strong and had the agility of deers. They became a legend, and no story of their prowess was too bold to be believed. For instance, it was said, and generally accepted, that Moses Doan was so strong and active that he could run and take a flying leap over a Conestoga wagon. Another member of the family is alleged to have leaped the flight of steps of the Walnut street prison, while

An account of the lives and behaviour of

Abraham & Levy Doan,

Who were executed upon the commons in the city of Philadelphia, on Wedneſday the 24th of September, 1788.

ABraham and Levy Doan were deſcended from reputable parents; they were couſins, and not brothers as generally reported.

Abraham was born in Cheſter county; but while the Britiſh poſſeſſed Philadelphia, lived in Bucks county; being of a bold and enterpriſing diſpoſition, he was employed by the Tories to go upon errands into the city, and at times to carry in horſes and cattle. In this he was encouraged by ſome people to all appearance of reputation, whoſe horrid political principles induced them to violate every tie of gratitude to their native country; and whoſe conduct he often reprobated in priſon, but could never be prevailed on to mention their names, hoping, as he ſaid, that they would repent of their manifold tranſgreſſions. His morals being thus corrupted, it was out of his relations power to bring him up regularly to buſineſs; and he unfortunately betook himſelf to an idle and diſſipated life, though not much addicted to ſtrong liquors, gaming, or women.

He was concerned in a highway robbery with one Richardſon, for which they were apprehended, and confined at Pittſburg. Abraham broke priſon, and his accomplice ſuffered.

Abraham was about five feet ten inches high, remarkable for activity and ſtrength, inſomuch that when loaded with heavy irons he would jump ſeven feet.

Levy was born in Plumſted townſhip, Bucks county, and very early in life had the misfortune to form connections with Abraham and his accomplices.

They committed their firſt depredation in the execution of which one perſon died of wounds from their gang, a French gentleman, who kept a ſtore upon Suſquehanna, about twenty miles from Harriſburg. They went to his ſtore on pretence of purchaſing goods, and forcibly carried off three hundred pounds worth. In this affair three of their confederates aſſiſted.

They and their gang have ſtolen ninety ſix horſes, ſome of which they ſold from ſixty to one hundred pounds.

They and ſeveral other robbers were often advertiſed by government, with large rewards for apprehending them. At laſt they were outlawed; for ſix years the Doans wandered about the continent until laſt ſpring, when they were taken near the Turk's Head, Cheſter county, and carried to Philadelphia jail.

Their friends and relations repeatedly adviſed them to refrain their evil practices and leave the country, but all in vain, notwithſtanding the hardſhips they underwent, being often obliged to conceal themſelves, for weeks ſucceſſively in woods and ſwamps. Having paſſed ſeveral counterfeit notes in Charleſton, South Carolina, to elude the officers of juſtice they concealed themſelves in a wood, where they were at laſt diſcovered by a woman, who humanely gave them ſome proviſions, of which they eat to ſuch exceſs as made them ſick, for until ſhe relieved them, they were almoſt famiſhed.

While in confinement in Philadelphia jail, tools were ſeveral times handed them, to enable them to eſcape, but the vigilance of the jailor prevented their making uſe of them; and againſt him they vowed vengeance, if ever they ſhould have an opportunity.

Great intereſt was made to ſave their lives when firſt ordered for execution, and a reſpite obtained for one month; at the expiration of that time, intereſt was again made in their favor, but government thought proper to put the law in force.

From the repreſentations of their friends, they flattered themſelves with a pardon, and in the morning when they were ordered to prepare themſelves for death, they and their unfortunate relations were much aſtoniſhed.

Sooner than could be expected, they recovered from their ſurpriſe, and at the place of execution behaved with manly fortitude and Chriſtian reſignation, imploring mercy through Chriſt, and exhorting the ſpectators to attend to the holy ſcriptures, and thereby avoid their miſerable ſituation.

Abraham was in his twenty fourth year, Levy in his twenty ſecond.

(Price Twopence.)

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BROADSIDE OF 1788, DESCRIBING THE CRIMES OF TWO NOTORIOUS ROBBERS.

These men were hanged on a gallows at the south side of Centre Square, which for years had been the scene of executions. The Doan "Boys" were the terrors of the Revolution.

being taken there to serve his sentence, and escaped. Joseph Doan, the younger of the brothers, was fastidious in his tastes. He had a penchant for picking pockets, lived at the Conestoga Wagon in style whenever he came to Philadelphia, and passed himself off as Lord Rawdon. All of the band were fearless, daring men. They were hunted, rewards were offered for their capture, and they were outlawed and frequently compelled to live in caves. Yet it is said of them that until the Revolution they were a peaceful, harmless family, but were changed in character from the treatment they received from Whigs. They have been likened by some romantically inclined writers to Robin Hood's merry men, and in illustration of the assertion that they were not without good qualities, it is said that on one occasion one of the brothers, on his way to Frankford, discovered a British soldier annoying a young woman, and he promptly shot him. Nevertheless they were outlaws, robbers, and in one instance, at least, committed murder.

In July, 1788, Abraham Doan, a cousin, who became attached to the gang, and Levi Doan, one of the brothers, were taken near the Turk's Head, Chester County, and carried to Philadelphia. On September 24th they were hanged on the Commons. The following year, on July 29, another member of the outlaw band, William Cole, also paid the penalty for his crimes at the same place. He had broken jail and committed a robbery, and under a law just enacted, this was a capital offense. He therefore was the first person to suffer for the offense.

During the Revolution the Commons became a scene of the greatest interest. Silas Deane, writing to his wife in May, 1775, remarked: "I seriously believe Pennsylvania will in one month have more than 20,000 disciplined troops ready to take the field. They exercise here twice every day, at 5 in the morning and at 5 in the afternoon, and are extremely well armed. . . . The Commons west of the city is every morning and afternoon full of troops and spectators of all ranks." When Rochambeau's fine army of Frenchmen arrived in the city they were encamped in and around Centre Square. It is a mistake to believe that the whole 6000 troops in this French contingent were encamped on the site of City Hall, which could not have been accommodated on such a small area. At that time, however, the Centre Square was not defined in its limits, except on the maps, and the encampment extended far beyond the bounds on all sides.

The junction of Broad and Market streets from the first laying out of the city until the present day has been a centre of interest in Philadelphia. It appears that since 1682 until the present nearly every suggested municipal improvement was made in one way or another to connect with this centre. From the earliest time until 1825, the ten acres left vacant there by Penn for a commons was known as Centre Square. In the latter year the square was divided into four squares

and they were collectively known as Penn Squares, which name they bore until the present City Hall was erected upon them, but not without considerable opposition.

Originally the centre of the town there was left rather to the mercies of the elements and nature. Upon the maps there appears a square piece of ground, but really there was no visible bounds for the Commons. Market street and Broad street, then mere cart roads, ran at right angles through the grounds.

No attempt was made until the end of the eighteenth century to improve the square. Then, when the city suddenly realized that it was becoming too large for the water supply depending upon the household pump and decided to install a water works and a system of conduits, Centre Square was adopted as the location of the distributing station. From the days of the Revolution the grounds at Broad and Market streets had been the centre of attraction for holiday makers, but after the erection of the engine house, where the water drawn from the Schuylkill and delivered to Broad and Market streets was pumped up into a reservoir to give the necessary pressure to the service, both the beautiful building and the pleasantly arranged garden around it made a pleasure park for Philadelphians which they were not slow to take advantage of.

As early as 1792, when the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Navigation Company was incorporated by the Pennsylvania Legislature, Philadelphians had a vision of a convenient water supply. It was expected that the authority obtained by the company to supply drinking water to the city through mains and conduits would be taken advantage of, but in some manner this privilege was not exercised, and the citizens of Philadelphia were compelled to wait for almost ten years before they had water delivered through the pipes to their residences.

City Councils became interested in the scheme for supplying the city with a modern water system, and in August, 1798, proposed that the Spring Mill fountain be examined with a view to establishing its capacity and the feasibility of bringing its water to Philadelphia. In November other sources of supply were examined by a committee of Councils, and finally it was determined that the Legislature should be appealed to for assistance in furthering the project. It was proposed that the Legislature should give authority to appropriate the auction duties towards financing the scheme and also give the corporation of Philadelphia the necessary authority to introduce the water into residences and other buildings throughout the city.

In 1799 a petition was circulated, signed by many citizens, asking the Councils to take up the subject again. Finally a Mr. Huntley, of Connecticut, was engaged as engineer of the project. Huntley was represented as a person who possessed certain improvements for the

CENTRE SQUARE AND ENGINE HOUSE, BROAD AND MARKET STREETS

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The "square" then really was a circle. At the eastern front of the structure stood the fountain of the spirit of the Schuylkill, carved by William Rush.

raising of water from rivers to heights, but when the plan was adopted it was not that of the man from Connecticut, who appears to have been merely a promoter, but the idea of Benjamin H. Latrobe, an engineer and architect who became famed in this country for his works.

The Legislature reported favorably upon the proposition that came from a meeting of citizens, together with managers of the Marine and City Hospitals and the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Company, and Latrobe was selected to go over the ground already examined. He reported that it was feasible to bring the water from Spring Mills to Philadelphia in a closed elliptical culvert of three feet six inches section, at least three feet under ground, for approximately $275,000, but he strongly advised against the scheme, and in turn proposed an alternative, which subsequently was adopted upon his recommendation. The distance which would have been necessary to convey the water from Spring Mills was twelve miles, and Latrobe suggested that it would be well to take the water from the Schuylkill right at Philadelphia and to pump the water by steam into a reservoir high enough to give the necessary pressure through the city mains.

The canal company showed some opposition to Latrobe's plan because it practically eliminated it from the scheme. The company claimed that by the completion of the canal water might be brought to Philadelphia and delivered without the use of any engine for pumping purposes. It also was claimed that this could be done for one-third less than the sum suggested by Latrobe as necessary by his plan. The estimated amount of water that would be required by the city was three hundred thousand gallons a day, or at the rate of thirty gallons for each dwelling. Of course, this estimate was made for the old city proper, and did not include any territory north of Vine street nor south of South street between the two rivers.

For almost a year the contest conducted on the one side by the canal company and on the other by the adherents of Latrobe was waged in the newspapers. Some of the writers to the daily papers stigmatized the Latrobe plan as a ridiculous project, for there was little faith to be found in those days in the efficiency of the steam engine, which, as a matter of fact, was unlike the perfected machine of today. But in the end Latrobe was successful, and the warning that the city would be at the mercy of a steam engine for its water supply did not prevail. The engine was furnished by Nicholas I. Roosevelt, an ancestor of Theodore Roosevelt.

In 1799 Councils took energetic action and passed an ordinance pledging the property of the city for the payment of the interest and redemption of the principal of the $150,000 loan. Shares were placed at one hundred dollars each. The Commissioners to receive subscriptions consisted of Edward Tilghman, Jared Ingersoll, Stephen Girard,

Jesse Waln, Levi Hollingsworth, Leonard Jacoby, John Innskeep, Jacob Shoemaker, Joseph Cruikshank, William Jones, Jonathan Robinson and Thomas Haskins.

Subscribers were to have water introduced into their houses for a period of three years without charge; but before the system had been completed it was found necessary to raise by taxation another fifty thousand dollars.

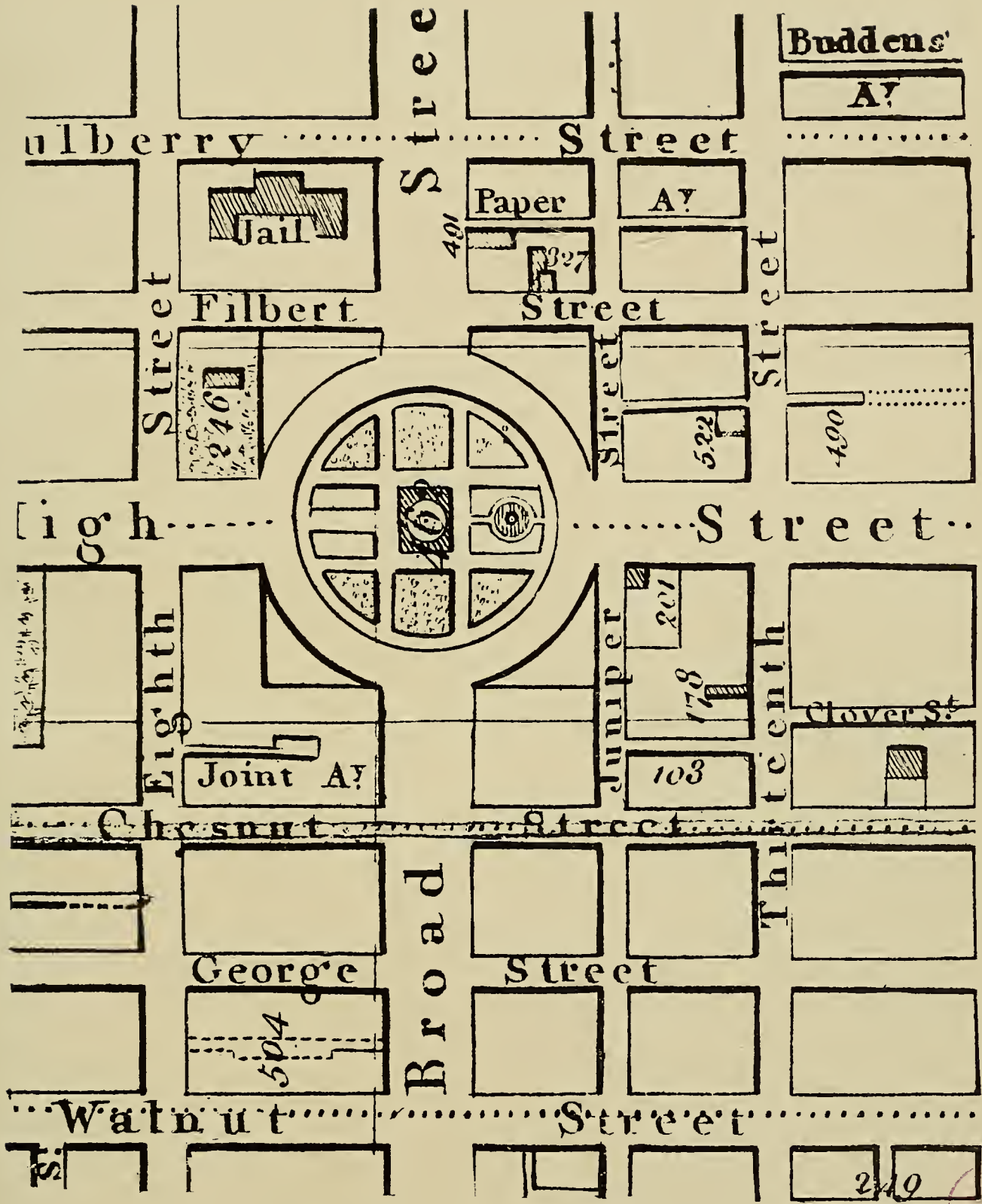
Briefly, the system was to take the water from the Schuylkill at a point between Chestnut and Market streets, and to deliver it to the Centre House at Centre Square, where it was raised by steampower to a reservoir. From this standpipe the water was allowed to enter the conduits, and from them introduced into the houses. The mains and conduits were all made of wood. They were logs through which holes had been bored. Primitive as the system was it was an enormous improvement over any water supply then in use by any municipality in this country. At first it was not welcomed with any enthusiasm by the inhabitants who had been accustomed to draw water from the family pump, or even from the neighborhood pump. By degrees the advantages of the newer system became appreciated, and the original Water Works were recognized as being far too small for the daily needs of the people of a city like Philadelphia.

Latrobe was an architect who brought some excellent ideas in public buildings from England, where he was born. He designed two bank buildings here, and the central engine house at Broad and Market streets, which was alluded to pleasantly and sarcastically as a pepper box, was a well-designed building for the purpose. It displayed far more art than many later public buildings. Intended solely for a pumping house and reservoir, Latrobe erected a splendid structure that did not hint at its prosaic uses. The chimney was in the centre, and was most ornamentally applied to the structure.

Centre Square soon became the most picturesque spot in the city. The Centre House was erected directly in the centre of the ground, and a circular road ran around the park. Two avenues for foot passengers ran east and west through the ground on Market street, and a single path took care of the pedestrians walking north and south from Broad street. Rows of Normandy poplars lined the pleasant walks, and the space between was filled with grass.

None of the original squares dedicated by Penn for the use of the city were at that time improved. Washington Square was a potter's field, a part of Franklin Square was used as a burial ground by the German Calvanist Church, while Logan and Rittenhouse Squares were visible only on the city maps, the former achieving some notoriety from the transfer to it of the public execution grounds.

In 1809 the Centre House garden was embellished by the addition of



BROAD AND MARKET STREETS IN 1810

From Paxton's map of Philadelphia published that year. The pumping house of the water works was in the centre, and Rush's fountain was east of it. The site of Broad Street Station was then the Lombardy Garden.

the first public fountain erected in this city. At the same time it was a beautiful piece of sculpture. It represented the spirit of the Schuylkill, as pictured by a nymph, holding a crane in her right arm. From the beak of the bird a stream of water played. The statue was of wood, carved by that native genius, William Rush. The water for the fountain, of course, was supplied from a city main and the beautiful work of art was the boast and admiration of all Philadelphians. The statue was modeled from Miss Nancy Vanuxem, a daughter of James Vanuxem, a member of Council's Watering Committee, and a well-known merchant. The fountain, after Centre Square was remodeled and the engine house removed, in 1828, was taken to Fairmount, where for many years it ornamented the gardens around the Water Works. Finally the perishing work was cast in bronze, and consequently may be seen to the present day near the City Aquarium at Fairmount. Miss Vanuxem lived to considerable age, dying in 1874.

In 1828 the engine house was demolished and the marble pillars that were part of it used in the First Unitarian Church, at Tenth and Locust streets. For some time an upper room in the engine house was occupied by the Philosophical Society. When the engine house was removed an ordinance of Councils divided the original square into four and named them Penn Squares. Then for the first time both Market and Broad streets ran directly through the ground.

Centre Square and the engine house made such a deep impression upon Philadelphians that artists did not neglect the picturesque spot. The first picture that is left to us of the site of the City Hall is that view of William Birch, which shows the engine house in 1800, just about the time of its completion. Then in the Port Folio for 1812 there appeared a beautiful little etching of the square, then improved by the addition of Rush's fountain and the rows of poplars; but the most lively impressions we have left to us of the scenes enacted there on occasion of holidays are those two paintings by the young, talented and unfortunate painter, John Lewis Krimmel. One of these, picturing a gala day, or a Sunday in Centre Square, is in the Academy of the Fine Arts, and the other, showing a Fourth of July celebration in 1819, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Another picture shows the circle around the square at an earlier period and gives an excellent idea of the primitive character of the roadway.

As early as 1837 a movement was started to erect a City Hall at Broad and Market streets, but at the time nothing came of it. The Civil War seemed to put a quietus to another movement which was started later, but after that conflict the attention was turned to the subject again. A bill was put through the Legislature for the appointment of a commission to build a structure to be called the Public Buildings, which was to house all the numerous departments of the

city and county under one roof. There was a disposition to read the text of the act differently, and on one side it was contended that the Legislature had no intention to direct the erection of a single structure, but of more than one. Under the act the commission was empowered to build the proposed building in either Washington Square or Penn Square, as the will of the people of Philadelphia decided by popular vote.

The general tendency was to place the new structure at Broad and Market streets and mass meetings and other means were taken by those opposed to having the building erected on the Penn Squares to defeat the project or to direct it to Washington Square. The vote of the people was decidedly in favor of the Broad and Market streets' site, but even this decision would not silence the opposition, which at one time was very vigorous. A suit finally was brought in the Supreme Court against the Buildings Commission to have them enjoined from erecting the structure on Penn Squares. The reasons given were what would appear to be trivial at this late day, but in 1871 they were listened to for three days in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. It was contended that Penn desired that the square should be an open place forever, and quoted his description that it should be like Moorfields in London. The Supreme Court, however, decided against the petitioners, and work was immediately started on the structure. Ground was broken on August 10, 1871, and the first stone in the foundation was laid on August 12, 1872. The cornerstone was laid with Masonic ceremonies on July 4, 1874, and for the next quarter century the building was in course of completion. The commission was abolished in 1901, and at that time its report showed the building to have cost $24,313,455, with some outstanding indebtedness which would have brought up the entire cost to almost $25,000,000.

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BROAD AND MARKET STREETS IN 1871

The view was made after Penn Squares had been cleared for the erection of City Hall and shows Market street, north side, from Juniper to Thirteenth. To the right is shown the freight station of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

SITE OF BROAD STREET STATION, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH MADE ABOUT 1876

In the foreground can be seen the fence that hedged in City Hall while it was being built.

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CHAPTER XXIII

BROAD STREET TO EIGHTEENTH—CENTRE HOUSE AND LOMBARDY GARDEN—IMPROVEMENTS AROUND PENN SQUARES—SEIXAS

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, the erection of the engine house of the Water Works in Centre Square not only led to the improvement of barren, unkempt fields there, but was the loadstone that attracted attention to the vicinity. The western move of the population was hastened and in 1814 this was recognized by the erection of a small market shed in the middle of Broad street, between the old gallows-ground, or South Penn Square, and Chestnut street. Far ahead of the demand for such a convenience, after the first rush westward had lost its impetus, the market never prospered, and after struggling along for about a dozen years, it finally was removed. Philadelphia almost from the beginning has been proud of its markets. Indeed, the old guide books and descriptions of the city dwelt upon their excellence quite as much as upon the architectural wonders of the town. The market in Broad street was fashioned on the design of the sheds in Second street.

Upon the removal of the engine house in Centre Square, the ground was divided into four small parks. Broad and Market streets separated them, while new avenues were provided for the outer boundaries in 1846. On the east Juniper street already in use was widened; Filbert street had been extended on the north for some years; Oak street, later Merrick street, bounded the squares on the west, and Olive street, later South Penn Square, formed the southern boundary. Oak and Olive streets were taken from the original land of the square. The name of Penn Squares was given the parks in 1828, and at first they were enclosed by picket fences, but in 1852 iron railings were substituted.

Prior to the Revolution horse races were occasionally held around Centre Square. The date is indefinite, but it is certain that so early as 1760 fast horses ran two-mile heats; and a jockey club, which appears to have had its headquarters at the Centre House, an inn, just west of the square, was formed in 1767. The Centre House dated from very early in the eighteenth century. It was on the line of travel between Philadelphia and the west and northwest, being half-way between the old Court House at Second street and the middle ferry, over the Schuylkill.

As early as 1744, when the Virginia Commissioners were here, their

secretary, William Black, paid a visit to the Centre House and has left a brief description of the kind of place it was. This leads to the belief that it was a sporting headquarters, which is also proved by the fact that the first horse races that were run here were driven around Centre Square, and the tavern itself was the meeting place of horsemen and their followers. Black, speaking of the tavern, alluded to the billiard room and bowling alley which were features of the place. Thirty years later the Centre House was the scene of a tragedy that was one of the strangest and most romantic that ever occurred in this city. A former officer of the British Army, named Bruleman, who was dejected and dispirited, took a vow that he would kill the first man he met on the street. It happened that the first man whom he encountered was Dr. Cadwalader, who in response to his salutation gave him a courteous reply, which so disarmed the would-be assassin that he permitted the physician to pass him without venting his strange passion upon him. Bruleman then walked out to the Centre House, where he came into contact with Captain Scull, whom he promptly shot in cold blood.

The Centre House stood at what would be the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Market streets. This was a place of entertainment for almost a hundred years and in the early years of the last century was transformed into a place of amusement. As the Lombardy Garden it was for many years a favorite summer concert theatre. The garden derived its name from the Lombardy poplars which had been introduced here by William Hamilton, of the Woodlands, and many popular concert singers were heard at the Lombardy, which continued until about 1830. The Lombardy Garden was also known as Evans' Garden, after the original owner of the house. This mansion, which stood near the Filbert street end of the lot, bounded by Market, Fifteenth, Filbert and Broad streets, was surrounded by a grove of trees. The First City Troop is said on occasion to have used the garden for drills. Several of the popular singers at the Chestnut Street Theatre were heard here on summer evenings, for the place was conducted somewhat after the manner of Vauxhall, London.

In 1808 Victorien, a riding master, erected an amphitheatre at the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Market streets, and his advertisements described its location as at the Centre House. Two years later, Thomas Swann, who had previously conducted an amphitheatre at Thirteenth and Market streets, took Victorien's place and opened it as a riding school. He remained here only for a year, when he removed to the northwest corner of Tenth and Arch streets. Swann had been successful in New York City, where he had an amphitheatre as early as 1794. In this city he introduced lectures on horsemanship, gave an exhibition of evolutions, and appears to have attracted a considerable

MERRICK (NOW BROAD) AND MARKET STREETS, 1863

The building was the home of the Polytechnic College and subsequently of the Medico-Chirurgical College and the Third National Bank

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SOUTHWEST CORNER OF SIXTEENTH AND MARKET STREETS, 1856

The building was erected in 1828 by Sellers & Pennock, fire engine builders. Morris & Jones & Co. later became Morris, Wheeler & Co.

number of Philadelphia's first families whom he instructed in the equestrian art. In those days that science was far from being merely ornamental, especially to the young men, for it was only by using a horse that the suburbs could be easily reached, and there was no system of transportation.

Coming down to a later period, when the tracks of the City Railroad, which extended down Market street to Third, turned off at Broad and Market streets, there was a little box of a one-story house at the corner occupied by John Neff, who took the tonnage of the cars as they passed from Market street to Broad. The cars that passed over the road were taxed a certain amount according to their tonnage, and it was the business of Neff to weigh the loads, and make a note of the amount due the city for the service.

In 1872 the tracks on Broad street, after considerable agitation, which finally assumed the attitude of force, for one night some of them were removed without formality, the rails were taken up. They had been a nuisance and an eyesore, and were preventng the proper growth of the city. About this time the sidewalks of the street were broadened and granite blocks laid in the roadway. Twenty years later Mayor Edwin S. Stuart, soon after he became the city's chief executive, sent a special message to City Councils asking that the whole appropriation of half a million dollars provided for improved paving in small streets be diverted to laying asphalt in Broad street. The scheme was ingenious and practical, for the granite blocks removed from Broad street replaced the time-worn cobbles in small streets, while Broad street received the latest type of city paving. The appropriation was used to start the project, which ultimately improved Broad street for its length of thirteen miles.

After the Lombardy Garden had seen its day of usefulness, and after Oak street had been opened along the western bounds of Penn Squares, some large and handsome dwellings were erected on the site of the old amusement place. This improvement dates from about 1850, and one of the leaders in this movement was Samuel V. Merrick. Later Oak street was changed to Merrick street, but upon the opening of Broad Street Station, in 1881, its name was once more changed to Broad street. On the market street end of the block stood a four-story building, in which in 1875 the Model Coffee House was opened. This structure, however, was historic from quite a different circumstance. For several years after the Civil War Peter F. Rothermel, who was painting his great picture, "The Battle of Gettysburg," occupied the second and third stories of the building as his studio. The painting was so large, and his accessories requiring great space, he had the floor of the third story removed. For many years the picture was on exhibition in Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park, but about twenty years

ago it was taken to Harrisburg and placed in a museum, where it was impossible for a spectator to view it satisfactorily. Mr. Rothermel is also said to have at one time during the painting of his picture occupied the Western Market House, on the north side of Market street, east of Sixteenth as a studio. This market was erected in 1859 and was removed finally to give place to the Pennsylvania Railroad's elevated extension to Broad Street Station.

Across Market street, at the corner of Broad, stood a white marble building that formerly housed the Third National Bank. The building, when it was erected in the early 60's, was used as the home of the Polytechnic College of Pennsylvania. It 1880 the Medico-Chirurgical College occupied the upper part of the building and the bank had its quarters on the first floor. Several years ago the old structure was removed and the present handsome bank structure erected on the site. The work was done without disturbing the business of the institution, and the new walls went up by degrees as the old ones came down. The late General Louis Wagner was long the President of the Bank, and also was for years the President of the Board of City Trusts, which among other trusts left the city manages the Girard Estate for Girard College. When the extremely characteristic statue of the mariner and merchant, by Massey Rhind, was given the city on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of Girard College, General Wagner was popularly believed to have been responsible for its erection on the west side of the City Hall. It was alleged the General had done this because he could sit in his office in the bank and have the figure of Girard meet his gaze whenever he glanced out of the window.

We shall be able to travel faster now that we are west of Broad street, for in the early years of the last century, when so many distinguished and even historic personages were residing in the eastern end of Market street, and so many places of interest were located there, this western part not only was sparsely settled, but there was little of interest, or at least little to cause us to loiter.

In the middle of Market street, from Fifteenth Street to Seventeenth, stood market sheds like those which, in the last century, were familiar objects in the eastern part of the street from Eighth street to Front. These sheds, which were erected in the 30's, were taken down about 1860, when the movement for the removal of the unsightly structures in the middle of the street had made headway and they were condemned. Close to the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Market streets at this period stood a rather imposing building with an arcaded entrance of great columns, called the Western Exchange. It was a hotel for farmers and was the western terminus of many of the omnibus lines. This structure, not long after the removal of the market sheds,

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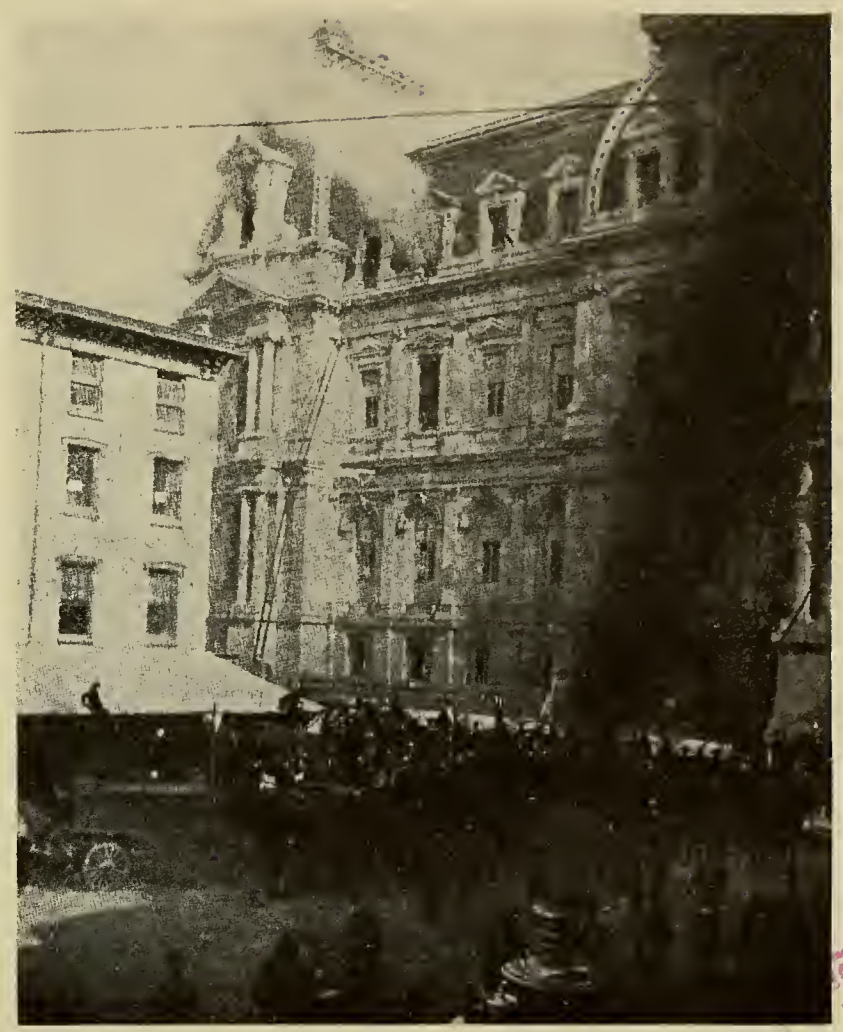
1636 MARKET STREET (NOW REMOVED)
Here David G. Seixas founded the first school for deaf mutes in Pennsylvania



FIRST FIRE IN CITY HALL, FEBRUARY 14, 1887
The Fifth, sixth and seventh stories were damaged
The building to the left was the Model Coffee House

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was found to have outlived its usefulness, and it, too, was taken down.

Until five years ago, when a moving picture theatre was erected on the site, there stood at 1636 Market street the building in which the first asylum for the deaf and dumb was opened in this State, and the third institution of the kind in the United States. This was a three-and-a-half-story brick structure, with a store on the ground floor. In the early years of the last century it was occupied by David G. Seixas as a store for the sale of crockery and queensware. Seixas was a son of the Rev. Gershom Mendes Seixas, the first minister of the Mickve Israel Synagogue.

The early directories of the city give only a slight clue to the location of the store, for they describe Seixas as living on High street above Schuylkill Seventh, or Sixteenth street. About the year 1819 this remarkable man was so deeply impressed with the helplessness and sad condition of deaf and dumb children whom he chanced to see in his walks about the city that he began the foundation of a school where they should be taught, as far as their capabilities permitted teaching. He was somewhat assisted in propagating his novel idea by the fact that there were before the public two plays founded upon the condition of the deaf and dumb. One of these plays was a translation from Kotzebue, made by Smith, and another made by Dunlap, and an original play by Mr. Clerc, the superintendent of the Hartford Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. The latter had been presented at the old Chestnut Street Theatre and was published in 1818.

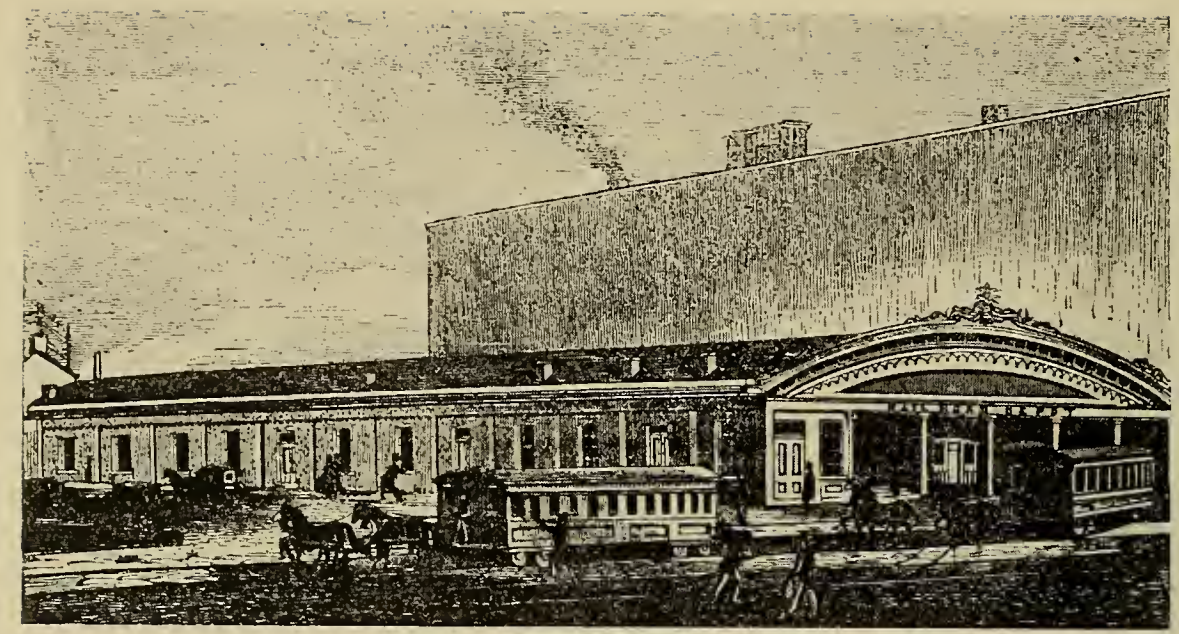
Seixas was a man in humble circumstances, but he persisted in ventilating his opinions, and the result was that the small school which he fitted up in his own house attracted the attention of the philanthropic, and they came to his assistance. It appears that the school was carried on there only a short time and then was transferred to the hotel building at Eleventh and Market streets, as already has been mentioned in a former chapter. This occurred about 1820, and came about from a conference which the founder had with persons of prominence, who had become interested in his work. They formed an organization which was taken up by the State, and the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb came into existence.

Seixas, in addition to keeping a store on Market street, where he sold pottery, had also a manufactory near the city, where he made Liverpool ware. Nearly opposite or at 1725 Market street stood for years, indeed until about a generation ago, a celebrated American pottery. This is known to have been in existence as early as in 1810, but the exact year in which it was founded does not appear to have been preserved. This was the famed Washington Pottery, founded by Captain John Mullowney, a brickmaker. His advertisements in 1811 show that the principal business of the pottery was the manufacture of

what was called Washington ware, a good quality of pottery, which was made in pitchers, coffee pots, teapots, sugar dishes, cream pots, wash basins, bowls, etc. Mullowney continued in business until 1816, but the pottery was continued by his successors until some time in the early 80's. These Washington pitchers, etc., are now highly prized by collectors of early American china and pottery and are rather pleasing in shape and in their decoration.

In the same block on the south side of Market street a few numbers west of Sixteenth was, until recently, the sales department of Morris, Wheeler & Co. While the site had been occupied continuously by the firm or its ancestors in the business from about 1829, part of the old buildings, which extend in the back by a wing to Sixteenth street, were erected by Sellers & Pennock, fire engine builders, in 1828. This firm was not in business here very long, when Coleman Sellers, the senior member of the firm, launched out with a shop in another part of the city. Sellers & Pennock appear to have only built and occupied the Sixteenth street end of the building, and upon leaving it, Israel Morris, who had established himself in business as a coal and iron merchant in 1828, where Henry Morris had preceded him, at the southwest corner of Schuylkill Seventh, or Sixteenth street, took possession. The firm at first was Morris & Johnson, and later Morris & Jones. The firm name changed again in 1854 to Morris & Jones & Co. The "Co." included Andrew Wheeler, Richard H. Downing and Joseph K. Wheeler. In 1860 the sign was again changed to that more familiar to the present generation—Morris, Wheeler & Co. In December the concern moved its offices to Thirtieth and Locust streets. Henry Morris is said to have begun the manufacture of heaters and pipe in a cellar in the neighborhood, and founded the firm of Morris, Tasker & Co., whose Pascal Iron Works were the largest in the southern part of the city. This company some years ago was one of those absorbed by the United States Steel Corporation. Isaac P. Morris had a forge and foundry at Sixteenth and Market streets about the time Sellers & Pennock moved there, probably in the Market street building. This business became a part of the William Cramp & Sons ship building concern at a later date.

On Seventeenth street between Market and Chestnut, at number 19, there was opened in 1858 the building of the Western Association of Ladies for the Relief and Employment of the Poor of Philadelphia. The organization had a very long title, but it did a very good work. It really was established in 1848 to employ poor white women to sew. There were accommodations for one hundred and fifty beneficiaries in the building. The Society was a good one of a type that flourished in Philadelphia during the middle years of the last century, but whose fields of endeavor have been encroached upon by the innumerable other



DEPOT OF THE PHILADELPHIA & COLUMBIA RAILROAD, 1852
This building was at the northeast corner of Eighteenth and Market streets

MARBLE WORKS, 2025 MARKET STREET, 1856
For half a century this structure was a landmark

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organizations to make the poor self-supporting. Notwithstanding this, the association still maintains its work in the original building.

Across the street from the home of the Western Association stood until 1912 a building which was more familiar to Philadelphians between 1865 and 1884. This was the Amateur Drawing Room, and its creation had its inception in the Civil War activities. In aid of the Sanitary Fair, held in 1864, a group of young society men and women gave a series of amateur dramatic performances, which were so successful, or at least so well received, that it was decided to establish a suitable small playhouse for the talented young actors.

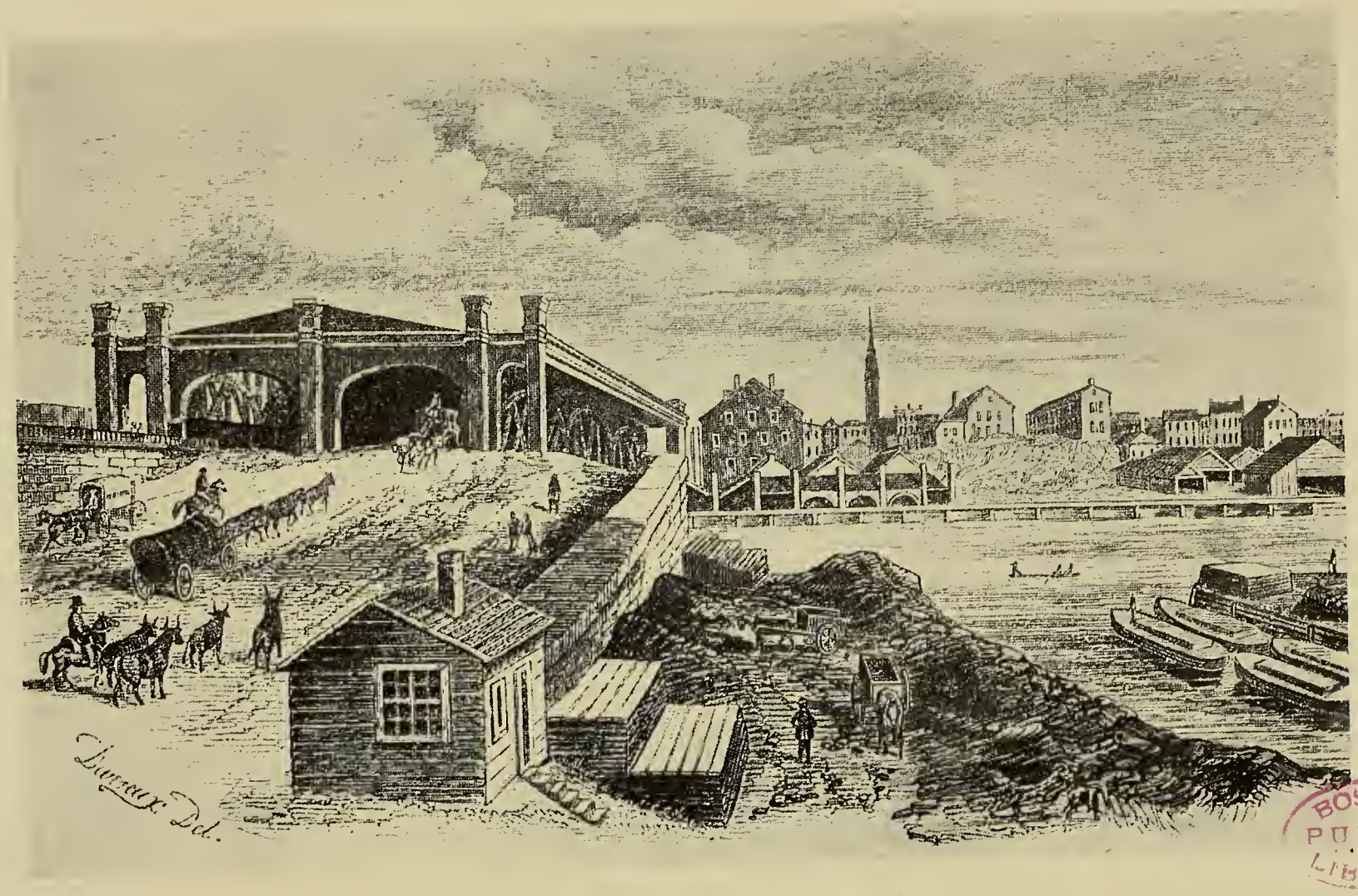
On Seventeenth street at the corner of a small street stood an unoccupied church building. The structure was of brick and had been erected in 1846 by an independent Methodist congregation, of which the Rev. J. Keller was pastor. Three years later it was the home of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, which occupied the edifice until it erected its fine brownstone building on Chestnut street, west of Eighteenth, the site of the Belgravia Hotel, in 1857. Two other congregations used the church subsequently—a Reformed Presbyterian, whose minister was the Rev. David McKee, which was here in 1858, and St. Barnabas's Episcopal Church. In 1864 the Amateur Drawing Room Company purchased the property, and, after alterations, the building was opened for performances the following year. In 1884, the demand for such an institution having ceased, the property was sold and was used by a hay and feed dealer until the old building once more changed hands in 1912 and, being removed, the Middle City Post-office building was erected on its site.

In its early years as a theatre for amateurs, the little playhouse was every winter the scene of many brilliant assemblages. Some of the amateurs were of great excellence, notably Miss Emilie von Schaumberg, the niece of Col. James Page, who is said to have been a descendant of one of the Lenape Chieftains. She later became Mrs. Hughes-Hallet, and within a few years was said to be living in Dinard, France. Miss Von Schaumberg for many years was the belle of Philadelphia, and there was none powerful enough to take the social sceptre from her. A remarkable linguist, a talented singer and actress, and a charming and magnetic woman who knew the artistic properties of dress, she was for years the social arbiter. She was always surrounded by brilliant people in her salon, and as a conversationalist she has never been surpassed by any of her successors, if, indeed, she may be said to have had a successor.

At the northeast corner of Eighteenth and Market streets stood the freight and passenger depot of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, in 1852. In that year the railroad, still owned by the State of Pennsylvania, was completed as far westward as Pittsburgh, and the

eastern end of the line was leased to Bingham & Dock, forwarding agents. It will be recalled that the Bingham House, at Eleventh and Market streets, received its name from this Mr. Bingham, who had his office there. Passengers were received at this depot at Eighteenth street for Columbia, the western terminus of the road. There a connection was made with the Pennsylvania Railroad, which carried the traveler to Pittsburgh. Previous to the building of the latter road the western part of the journey to the Smoky City had to be made partly by canal and partly by gravity roads, and the journey was both inconvenient and tedious.

Passengers boarded cars in the station at Eighteenth street, and these were drawn by four horses to West Philadelphia, where the cars were assembled into a train. The remainder of the journey was accomplished by the aid of a locomotive. In describing the journey to Pittsburgh in 1852, a contemporary writer refers to the first mile of the journey being made over the widest street in Philadelphia, and after dwelling on the virtues of the Market street bridge, which had been widened to accommodate the railway cars in 1850, remarks: "emerging from the bridge we enter the borough of West Philadelphia, with its mud and dust and jimcrack cottages. It has a large and rapidly increasing population, which is principally composed of those who conduct business in the city, but do their sleeping out here—hence the dull, drowsy appearance of the place." While part of this description is still true, for there is a vast residential section in West Philadelphia, it no longer is dull and drowsy, but very much awake, with its immense population, rather greater than Philadelphia had in 1850, and its numerous churches, theatres and moving picture palaces.



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MARKET STREET BRIDGE IN 1850

This structure was the original roofed in. It was destroyed by fire in 1875, replaced by another wooden bridge which was displaced in 1893 by the present cantilever.

CHAPTER XXIV

EIGHTEENTH STREET TO THE SCHUYLKILL RIVER—CITY GAS WORKS—BRIDGES ACROSS THE SCHUYLKILL

When the market sheds on Market street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets were removed other market houses were immediately erected to take their places. As already mentioned, there was the New Western Market on Market street, near Sixteenth, and in addition there was built at the southeast corner of Nineteenth, the Southwestern Market, and at the northwest corner of Twenty-first street the Farmers' Western Market. Of these only that at Nineteenth street survives, although there is a private market concern occupying the market at Twenty-first street.

The car works of Murphy & Allison, at 1908 Market street, about 1860, was a very busy place. There were made virtually all of the street cars used on the ever-increasing lines in this city. It was an era of rapid transit. Not very rapid, of course, for the motive power was the horse, but it was a great improvement over the rumbling omnibus, and the people welcomed the new age with open arms. This plant was destroyed by a fire in 1868, and the Allisons afterward confined themselves to the construction of cars for the steam roads. This was the cue for George Brill and his eldest son, G. Martin Brill, to take up the work their former employers had laid down, and the Brills began the construction of street cars, until today the company makes virtually all of the street cars in use in various parts of the world. The Brills at first took a building on Thirty-first street below Chestnut in 1869, and about twenty-five years ago removed to a large plant down the Darby road. At the present time there are branch plants in St. Louis, Cleveland, Elizabeth and Springfield, Mass.

Opposite to the site of the Allison Car Works, at 1913, the Athletic Club of The Schuylkill Navy held its indoor athletic events from its organization in 1886 to the erection of its club house at Seventeenth and Arch streets in 1890.

The building formerly used as the power house for the Market street cable road still stands on the south side of the street between Nineteenth and Twentieth streets. The first cable cars to run on Market street were those of the Columbia avenue line, which used Seventh and Ninth streets above Market, also, which made the first trip January 26, 1885. The success of this mode of propulsion induced the Traction Company

to make extension of the system on Market street as far west as Forty-first. This section was running within a very few years. During 1876, the centennial year, steam dummies were operated on the Baring street branch of the Market street line from Front street to Forty-fourth and Elm, now Parkside avenue.

At the corner of what is now Twentieth and Ranstead streets stood the brick-plastered church of the Brickmakers' Methodist Protestant congregation for some years before the Civil War. The edifice became vacant after that conflict began and when all the city's attention and activities were turned toward the Sanitary work for the war, the unoccupied church building was taken over and converted into a reading room for soldiers. In order to swell the proceeds of the Great Central Fair, which was held in Logan Square in 1864, a group of young society people formed an amateur dramatic association and presented very acceptably some light comedies in the old church building. These exhibitions were described on the programme as "Parlor Entertainments," but such plays as "She Stoops to Conquer," "Masks and Faces," and "The Ladies Battle" were given.

In the company, as has already been mentioned, was Miss Emilie von Schaumburg, and while she as a talented amateur and gifted woman attracted a great deal of admiration, there were other very clever young people in the casts. Among these were Miss Lydia Mason, Miss Homer, Dr. L. O. Koecker, Mr. Constant Guillou, Dr. William Camac, Mr. John Mason and Mr. M. Dilworth. It was the remarkable success of these entertainments, in the spring of 1864, that led, after the war, to the establishment of the Amateur Drawing Room on Seventeenth street.

Over the stores on Market street west of Twentieth may be seen the building on Ludlow street which housed the first electric lighting plant in this city. This belonged to the Brush Electric Light Company, whose first public contract was the lighting of Chestnut street between the two rivers. This system of illumination was put into effect December 3, 1881, and attracted great curiosity.

There is still standing in the square from Twentieth street to Twenty-first one of the buildings that formerly housed Jacoby's marble works, long a landmark in this neighborhood. The Jacobys began at Nineteenth street above Arch and later were on Chestnut street, but the Market street works were built about 1854. The firm which had been S. F. Jacoby & Son was changed to Jacoby & Co., and later to Jacoby & Prince. for half a century the marble works was the most conspicuous object on the street west of Broad.

On Twenty-first and Ash streets, between Market and Chestnut, the First City Troop had its armory from 1864 to about 1904. The original building was superseded by another and more pretentious

building in 1874. This was supplanted by still another armory about fourteen years ago on Twenty-third street, between Market and Chestnut. Prior to 1864 the organization held its drills in various parts of the city and in West Philadelphia, and its meetings and entertainments in hotels.

On Twenty-third street above Market was erected the first municipal gas works in this city. It is now difficult to realize the amount of opposition that was encountered by the pioneers who desired to introduce illuminating gas here. It is even more difficult to realize that the opposition proceeded from men who otherwise were regarded as intelligent persons. Even after the works had been completed and opened the applications for the service were ridiculously few in number. Philadelphians had been familiar with illuminating gas in exhibitions and in places of amusement, where it was regarded as merely an attractive novelty. Its practicability did not attract many believers. As early as 1796 there had been exhibitions of the gas in a place of amusement on Arch street. There it was voted wonderful, but no one who saw it dreamed that it could be introduced into private houses and used for illumination purposes, and the idea of adopting it for heating would have been voted absurd.

It was almost forty years after this first exhibition that the first city gas works was erected, and then only after years of discussion and after Samuel Vaughn Merrick, of the Franklin Institute, had been sent to Europe to investigate the workings of gas works and reported that the introduction of gas into houses and for street lights was both feasible and safe.

As early as 1816 the old Chestnut Street Theatre was illuminated by gas. That should have seemed to be a practical test, but despite the fact that the playhouse continued to use the illuminant until the house was destroyed by fire in 1821 there continued to be a fear that the gas was unsafe for the home. The gas used by the theatre was received from the gas plant in the Masonic Hall, then on Chestnut street above Seventh. This continued to be the only gas plant in the city from 1816, when it was introduced in the hall, until the city works on Twenty-third street were opened in 1836.

While there was a progressive element in the community which desired to see gas introduced, there also was a large conservative element which regarded such a measure as "inexpedient, offensive and dangerous." Statistics were freely quoted to prove the great danger to life and property in the use of illuminating gas. "We consider gas to be an article as ignitable as gun powder and nearly as fatal in its effects" is a sentence that occurs in one remonstrance. It was pointed out that the discharge of refuse from the gas works would poison the waters of the two rivers and kill all the fish in them, which really hap-

pened. Some of the conservatives went so far as to declare that the gas would vitiate the atmosphere generally and intimated that the citizens might die like flies.

This agitation was at its height in 1833. After Mr. Merrick returned from Europe with a plain, careful and favorable report upon the success of gas in European cities, Councils took up the question again. In 1835 Councils authorized the erection of the first gas works. The building was completed in February, 1836. The capacity of the works was only 75,000 cubic feet of gas a day, but this was more than sufficient at that time. Only nineteen private houses and forty-six public burners were on the first list of applications for the service. The gas was supplied at the rate of $3.50 per 1000 cubic feet, but there was no general desire to abandon candles and sperm oil lamps to take up the new and clean illuminant. While the rate would now be considered high, it is interesting to learn that it was just half the price asked for the same kind of service in New York City at that time. The original façade of the old gas works remained standing until about nine years ago, and after the buildings were removed the field was used for athletics by the Meadowbrook Club.

This section of Market street from Twenty-first street to the Schuylkill river has been transformed in character within the last half-dozen years. Never remarkable for its attractiveness, owing to the proximity of the gas works, removed after the lease by the city to the United Gas Improvement Company, the part of the thoroughfare west from Twenty-third street was rendered almost uninhabitable by the raising of the street to meet the new grade approaching the bridge built in 1893. But the wonderful advancement of the motor car industry and the repaving of the street with wood block, has caused this end of the street to be sought by sales and service departments of various automobile companies. The result has been the rehabilitation of the section, which is improving constantly, both in architectural appearance and in value.

Just over the entrance to the subway west of Twenty-third street stands a small marble obelisk with four long inscriptions upon its four sides that probably is a mystery to the thousands who pass it daily. Few ever take the trouble to walk to it and read the inscriptions, and consequently cannot know that this short shaft of marble was set up originally at the western entrance to the permanent bridge over the Schuylkill here, and afterward was removed to a niche in the wall around the gas works on Twenty-third street. With the coming of the subway this latter location was removed, and the monument, now minus its original sun dial, was set up in its present location.

Probably no monument ever erected in this country contained so many words, for upon the four tablets on this small obelisk is related

the whole history of the first Market street permanent bridge, which was completed in 1805, after five years of effort, and the company was so highly elated over its success that it had this monument carved and erected to commemorate the great undertaking.

Although there was a trail leading to the Schuylkill on the line of Market street, from the time the city was laid out, it was not until 1723 that the highway was really opened. It was an important line of travel, but in the early years was somewhat handicapped by the primitive and carelessly conducted ferry across the Schuylkill. Both the Provincial Council and afterward the Common Council of the city, had difficulty in obtaining a proper ferry keeper. Nearly all of them had small boats, and the Council was constantly insisting upon a "sufficient boat," only to be just as constantly disappointed.

One of the early acts of Penn as Proprietary while he was in this city on his first visit was to grant "the Old Ferry" to Philip England. This was done about 1683, for in 1685 the complaints against the ferry keeper became so pronounced that he was ordered by the Provincial Council to expedite a sufficient boat. Later the ferry was kept by Benjamin Chambers and in the minutes of the Provincial Council for 1700 will be found an entry directing the ferry keepers at the Schuylkill not to transport any persons not known to them or who could not give a good account of themselves who presented themselves to be transported across the river after the "light is shut in," meaning after nightfall.

The most prominent of the keepers of the Middle Ferry, as that at Market street was known, was Aquila Rose. He was a native of England, and while here worked for a time as a printer in the shop of Keimer, and also was the clerk of the Provincial Assembly. His fame, however, rests upon his poetry, which, while neither very great in quantity, nor of much distinction as verses, was among the earliest produced in the Province. Franklin in 1740 published a collection of his poetry which had been arranged by Rose's son, Joseph Rose. Keimer wrote an elegy to Rose, or rather composed such a piece from the types in his printing office, and an English friend, Elias Brockett, also wrote a poem to Rose's memory which, having been originally printed in an English newspaper, was reprinted in the little volume printed by Franklin in 1740. Rose was given a lease of the Middle Ferry for a period of twenty-one years in 1722, but he died the following year at the age of twenty-eight years. He was a most popular man and his funeral was attended by all the printers in the city, and by many substantial citizens. His might well be said to have been the largest funeral that had been witnessed in this city up to that time, or for many years afterward.

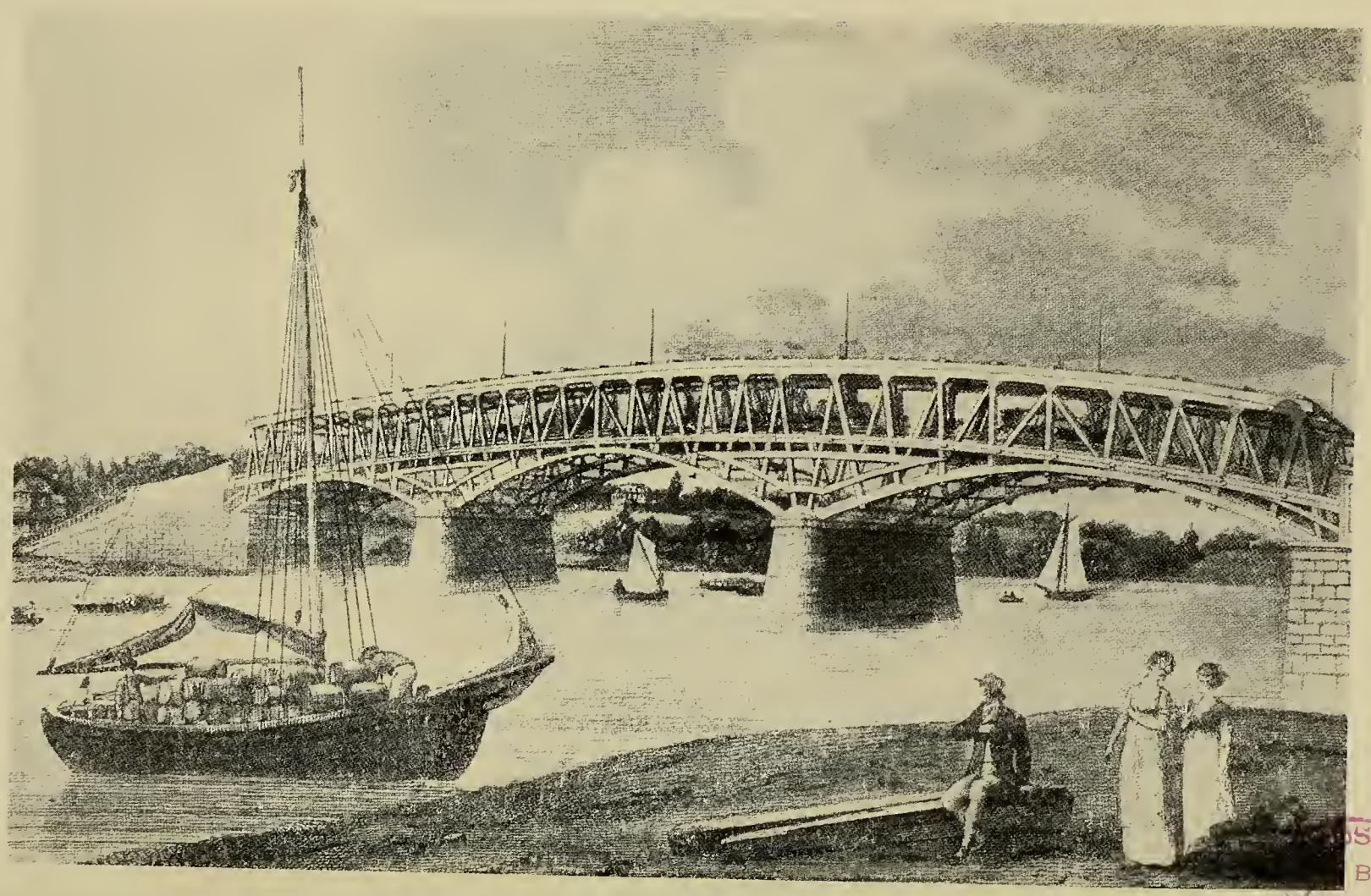
It was the year after Rose had been given the lease of the ferry

that the Common Council ordered a committee of four members of the Council, together with the Surveyor-general, "without delay to lay out ye High street, and fix ye wharfs for ye ferry." During the eighteenth century the ferries, especially the Middle Ferry at Market street, caused the Council considerable trouble. In 1744 the ferry was leased to James Coultas, who seems to have had it in 1757, for he sent a bill for ferriage of Halket's and Dunbar's Regiments to the Council. This was for £12. In 1755 the ferry was in the hands of Evan Evans, and in 1756 was leased to Joshua Byrne. Jonathan Humphries had it in 1762, and in 1769 the Council considered the propriety and wisdom of making the ferry free. Although a committee was appointed for the purpose of reporting upon this project, nothing appears to have been done in the matter. During the Revolution the ferry was a very important point in all transportation westward from the city. At that time the ferry gave way to a bridge of boats, or floating bridge. This remained until the end of the eighteenth century, or until the first permanent bridge across the river at Market street was built.

During the Revolution there was a bridge of boats, or floating bridge, across the Schuylkill river at Market street. It took the place of the Middle Ferry that had been maintained there since the first years of the city. General Israel Putnam appears to have been responsible for the bridge of boats, which was nothing more than a military pontoon. As there was constant need for a bridge, owing to the transportation of supplies and of troops to the armies, the bridge was maintained throughout the war. It was so immensely superior to the old ferry that after the military demands had ceased the bridge was maintained by the city. It was on the line to the western frontier of Pennsylvania, and the road west of the Schuylkill in those days was not called High street, although it was a continuation of Market street, but the Conestoga road.

The city and its industries and commerce increased rapidly after the Revolution. The floating bridge was soon found to be as inefficient in its day as the ferry had been in its time. While before the Revolution the progressives were attempting to free the ferry of tolls, after the war they concentrated their efforts on the acquisition of a permanent bridge. In 1786 plans for a bridge were made, but were laid aside. A few years later Thomas Paine planned an iron bridge that was composed of a single span of about 400 feet. The model was made in Bordentown and brought here and set up in Franklin's house, where it was so much admired that it was removed to the State House for exhibition, and later sent to France.

But Paine's bridge did not get further than the model stage. It never was built. Efforts toward the erection of a bridge were about to be crowned with success in 1789 when an unusual flood in the Schuyl-



FIRST PERMANENT BRIDGE ACROSS THE SCHUYLKILL AT MARKET STREET

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From very early times there had been a bridge of boats here. This structure, when erected

kill swept away all the floating bridges, and for the time being all attention was directed to repairing the damage. Having waited for years for the Assembly to give the relief desired, finally City Councils decided to erect a permanent bridge, using for the purpose the ferry tolls and other moneys. But once again the plan did not proceed further than the preliminary stage. Finally, in 1798, the Legislature incorporated a company with a capital of $150,000 for the purpose of building the bridge. It was to be completed in five years after beginning work, and when the receipts from tolls should exceed 15 per cent. on the capital stock the surplus was to be devoted to a redemption fund for the purpose of eventually making the bridge free. The men who were authorized under the act to form the company included Richard Peters, John Perot, Godfrey Haga, Matthew McConnell and William Sheaf. The Legislature reserved the right to declare the bridge free after twenty-five years upon the payment of its appraised value. At that time the revenues from the ferry and floating bridge amounted to $3500 a year, and these were sold to the new company for $40,000.

Timothy Palmer designed a wooden structure, and the cornerstone of the bridge was laid in the eastern abutment October 18, 1800. A Mr. Reynolds was the constructing engineer, and although considerable opposition developed against him he succeeded in maintaining his position, and continued until the structure was completed in 1805.

In building the bridge some large problems in engineering were encountered. Those with present-day facilities and inventions, and in light of a century of knowledge and experience, would not be seriously regarded, but in 1800 the construction of the piers was a task that many Philadelphians looked upon with some pessimism. More than once the cofferdams were found to be flooded and the active work stopped. The facilities for pumping out this water were rather primitive, but the work was attacked with seriousness and persistence, and finally the efforts were rewarded by seeing the piers arise above high-water. The remainder of the work was comparatively simple. The bridge originally had a wagonway in the middle, and footpaths on either side. At first the structure was without a roof, but through the influence of Judge Richard Peters, whose estate was at Belmont, now in Fairmount Park, the bridge was roofed. This work required a year to complete.

In 1840, the City of Philadelphia becoming the owner of the bridge, upon payment of $100,000, it was freed of tolls. What led to this purchase was an incident which occurred six years before that date. On April 22, 1834, what was termed a "Jubilee in honor of the triumph of the Whigs of New York in defense of the Constitution and laws," was held at Powelton, the seat of John Hare Powel. The Whig party was then in its infancy, and desiring to make the jubilee a success by

inducing crowds to go over from the city, it was announced that on the day of the meeting the bridge would be free, an arrangement having been made with the company to that end. The meeting was as large and as enthusiastic as its managers had hoped it would be, and a taste of a free bridge for one day inspired a desire for a permanently free roadway across the river. Agitation of the proposition resulted in the city purchasing the bridge company's property.

The bridge was widened to accommodate the railroad tracks of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad in 1850, and this addition was attached to the northern side of the structure. In the fall of 1875 the bridge was destroyed by fire, but a temporary structure was quickly raised in its place, and in 1887 the present cantilever was finished.

WEST PHILADELPHIA IN 1839, FROM THE MAP OF CHARLES ELLET.

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Market street, from the Schuylkill to Mill creek, at this time, was known as Washington street. The streets in Hamiltonville bore the names of members of the Hamilton family. Cramond street is the present Thirty-third, Till street is now Fortieth, etc. No vestige of the West Philadelphia railroad survives.

CHAPTER XXV

WEST PHILADELPHIA—WASHINGTON STREET AND THE WEST CHESTER ROAD—HAMILTONVILLE

On some of the old maps of the city there is indicated a canal around the western approach to the bridge over the Schuylkill at Market street. This mysterious waterway was not so mysterious when it is understood for what purpose it was constructed. The bridge was without a draw, and for the benefit of small ships which were to be sailed north of Market street it was necessary to provide a way for them. This was done by the digging of a small, semicircular canal around the western end of the bridge in 1833 by the West Philadelphia Canal Company, but it never became anything more than a nuisance, and half a century ago was filled in, the corporation of the District of West Philadelphia being authorized to do so under the act of 1849.

Until about the beginning of the last century Market street in West Philadelphia was known as the West Chester road, but after the death of Washington it was renamed Washington street, through that section of it known as Hamiltonville. West of Mill Creek, at Forty-sixth street, the western bounds of the village, it retained its earlier name. The name Washington clung to it until the time of the consolidation of the various townships, boroughs, etc., into the city of Philadelphia in 1854. It is true that it was customary for Philadelphians to refer to the street as Market street, in spite of its proper name, just as they insisted upon calling High street by that name.

From the western end of the bridge to Cobb's creek, the county line, the distance is three miles, and from a point near the river westward to about Forty-sixth street, it formerly passed through the tract of the Hamiltons. This tract comprised six hundred acres, and the upper part was laid out in Hamilton village. Market street seems to have been the northern boundary of the estate, the remains of which may now be seen in the eighty-six acres comprising Woodlands Cemetery. The estate early in the eighteenth century was owned by Andrew Hamilton and descended to his son, William, who liked to call himself William Hamilton of the Woodlands, the name of his estate. Before West Philadelphia became a political part of the city of Philadelphia there were recalled in the names of the streets in Hamilton village the names of the Hamiltons.

There was Andrew street, now Walnut street, named for Andrew

Hamilton the second; Till street, Fortieth street, named for his wife, who was a Miss Till; William street, or Thirty-ninth, for their son, William Hamilton "of the Woodlands." Ludlow street was called Oak street, and few of the thoroughfares within the bounds of the village were known by their present names. Thirty-third street was Cramond; Thirty-fourth, Moore; Thirty-sixth, Margaret; Thirty-seventh, Park; Thirty-eighth, Mary, and Chestnut, James. North of Market street Fortieth street was known as Cedar lane.

West Philadelphia originally was a very small section of Blockley Township. In 1840 it was regarded as insignificant, and, containing few inhabitants and fewer buildings, it was mainly confined to a little district around the western end of the Market street bridge. It was bounded by the villages of Hamilton, Greenville, Powelton and a part of Mantua. On the other hand, Hamiltonville was the choicest part of this section of the county, and Powelton, whose name was taken from the Powell family who had a magnificent estate just north of Market street at Thirty-second, was then a new and promising village.

A description of Hamiltonville at this time gives an indication of the esteem in which it was held:

> "A handsome village of West Philadelphia, situated about one mile west of the Market street bridge," notes this description, "It is on the road to West Chester. Its plan is regular, and the streets, most of which are prolongations of those in the city, are wide and well regulated. The buildings, about eighty in number, generally stand apart from each other, leaving garden spaces between them. Taken altogether, Hamilton is probably the prettiest village in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. The dwellings are occupied principally by families who reside in the city during the winter season, or merchants and others, who reside here and transact business in the city."

West Philadelphia, however, at this time contained about 150 buildings, including extensive furnaces and other manufacturing establishments. It was predicted by the guide-book writer that "it is rapidly improving, and will ultimately form an important suburb of the city."

In 1844 the Borough of West Philadelphia was incorporated, and its title was changed to the District of West Philadelphia in 1851. When the Commissioners issued their "Digest of Ordinances," in 1852, the compiler by way of preface noted some of the good features of the district as a place of residence. It was more of a promise than the description of a work achieved as will be perceived from a few quotations. Look at this beckoning finger across the river:

> As a place of residence, it may safely be said, that no other location in the vicinity of Philadelphia offers superior attractions. The ground in general is elevated, and remarkably healthy; the streets are wide, and many of them bordered with rows of handsome shade trees; and a large portion of the District has been covered with costly and highly ornamental dwellings. New streets are being opened, graded, and paved; footwalks have been laid and gas introduced, and arrangements will soon be made for an ample supply of water. Omnibus lines have been established, which run constantly, day

and evening, thus enabling its residents to transact business in the City of Philadelphia and adjoining districts without inconvenience. A number of wealthy and influential citizens now reside in the District, and there is every indication that the tide of population will flow into it with unexampled rapidity.

Provision by law has been made for the erection of two additional bridges over the Schuylkill, and these will afford facility and convenience to the great amount of travel and intercommunication which the present avenues are inadequate to accommodate.

The present Thirtieth street, prior to the consolidation of the city, was named Bridgewater and earlier Upper Ferry road. It was the shortest avenue of communication between this part of Market street and Mantuaville, which in these days was reached by the upper permanent bridge, now Callowhill street bridge. In earlier times the road led to the Upper Ferry at the same place. Lying east of the road, and not far from Market street, was from very early times a burial ground which never seemed to have an owner. The absence of all jurisdiction gave the impression that the ground was dedicated to public uses. But after the victims of the gallows had been laid away there for years without protest, and innumerable other burials conducted there, the Society of Friends made it known in 1806 that the cemetery had been given to them.

Beside the burial ground, probably a century before this time, was the farm of a Friend named Duckett, in whose house the members of the society held meetings. In the course of a petition to the Legislature in 1809 it was stated that the ground had been surveyed and had been held by the Society of Friends for one hundred and twenty years, or since 1689. The Friends admitted that their title was not complete, but insisted that the presumptive evidence was in their favor. They declared that they had exercised ownership for sixty years, and, as the ground was not vacant nor unappropriated land, the Legislature had no right to interfere. This appeal came in response to an action on the part of citizens to have the ground declared public property, after the Friends, in 1809, had suddenly taken possession and refused permission to other denominations to use the cemetery. The controversy, which engaged the Society on one hand and the Board of Health on the other, finally resulted in a compromise in 1819, when the Society agreed to relinquish possession to the Board with the understanding that the ground be used as a place of interment of the dead forever. When the Pennsylvania Railroad began operation and desired to pass through this part of West Philadelphia, in 1850, the plot was sold to the railroad company. In this little cemetery were buried, during the latter years of the eighteenth century and the early ones of the nineteenth, several notorious murderers, among them Captain Smyth, who murdered Captain Carson, the husband of the strange woman, Ann Carson.

A map of West Philadelphia made in 1839 defines a railroad running from a point on the west bank of the Schuylkill river, at about Chestnut street, in a more or less northwestern course through the west side of the county until it joined the Columbia Railroad at a point near Buck Tavern, in Merion township, about six miles from the place of beginning at the river. This road, known as the West Philadelphia Railroad, which was to eliminate the inclined plane, and which was not completed until 1850, crossed Market street at Thirty-sixth, and then continued in a line nearly parallel to Lancaster avenue.

The West Philadelphia Railroad was projected by persons who objected to the use of an inclined plane at Belmont, and believed that the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad should enter the city at a lower grade. When the road was finally built, and the inclined plane abandoned, it was on a route very different at the eastern end from what is to be found in these old maps. On the new route the road stopped at the western end of the Market street bridge, and ran along virtually the line now in use by the Pennsylvania Railroad to a point near Ardmore station. At this time it was deemed essential that the road should enter Philadelphia at Market street, and in 1850 the remodeling of Market street bridge was finished and the first trains on the new line, to cross the bridge, were run on October 14. The old bridge was destroyed by fire on November 20, 1875, and on November 29th the Pennsylvania Railroad was running trains across the temporary bridge that had been constructed in ninety working hours.

In 1864 the Pennsylvania Railroad erected a passenger depot at Thirtieth and Market streets, and for some time this was one of the principal stations for passengers for the West and for New York. The depot was abandoned in 1876, when the large station at Thirty-second and Market streets was opened for the Centennial Exposition rush. This was a busy neighborhood during the next four years, but this station, too, was finally abandoned when Broad Street Station was opened in 1881. The former station was built in a few days more than two months, in time for the Centennial. It was burned April 18, 1896.

On the lot at the northwest corner of Lancaster avenue and Thirty-second street, partly occupied by the Armory for the Cavalry Squadron erected three years ago, was held the first electrical exposition in this country. This was organized successfully under the auspices of the Franklin Institute, and was opened in 1884.

On Market street, from the bridge westward to Mill Creek, there were four inns or taverns in the early years of the last century, and one of them survives to the present day. Between Thirty-seventh and Fortieth streets were several horse bazaars and mule yards, and the vicinity is still noted for this business. In 1814 there was a tavern which hung out the sign of the "Golden Fish," at the west end of the

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PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD STATION AT THIRTIETH STREET

Built in 1864, most of the passenger traffic with Philadelphia passed through this humble building until 1876. Although it was advertised as located at Thirtieth street, it really was close to Thirty-first street. The photograph gives an excellent idea of the type of horse cars used by Philadelphians until 1893.

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PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD STATION AT THIRTY-SECOND AND MARKET STREETS

Erected in 1876 to take care of the crowds visiting the city for the Centennial Exposition, it proved its incapacity within a few years when Broad Street Station was erected. The station was destroyed by fire in 1896. Its site was west of the present West Philadelphia Station.

permanent bridge. This place was at the northwest corner of Thirtieth street, and was kept by C. Young, one of whose advertisements gives the information that a fox is to be liberated there for the benefit of the city fox hunters, for it must be remembered that a hundred years ago this section of West Philadelphia was almost a wilderness so far as habitations were concerned.

Near the corner of Thirty-second and Market streets stood a tavern long known as the Mansion, although in 1839 this was the Liberty. At the southeast corner of Thirty-sixth and Market streets stood the William Penn House. At the same time there was a William Penn Hotel on Market street above Thirty-eighth, where the City Troop occasionally met in the 50's. The William Penn near Thirty-eighth street is still standing, and has the distinction of being the last coaching house in the city. Until the West Chester trolley line was established, about twenty years ago, a stage carrying the mail used to set out for Newtown Square twice a day from the William Penn. Between Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth streets, on the south side of Market, stood Ball's Inn, later known as the Bull's Head. Not many years ago the original building was removed and the present horse auction house erected on the site.

At Thirty-second street two diagonal avenues run off Market street. The old Lancaster road starts off in a northwestern direction, and a little east of it the Darby road, now Woodland avenue, runs off in a southwestern way. The Lancaster road is the older of the two, and was opened early in the eighteenth century. The road to Darby until late in that century was from Gray's Ferry, but in 1780 a petition was received by the Assembly asking that the road be opened to Market street. This appears to have been reported favorably the following year, and the act passed to have the road opened through Hamilton's land. The Lancaster road had the distinction of being the first turnpike road in this country, and was the forerunner of "pikes" all over the United States. Some of these survive much to the annoyance of motorists, who do not relish the payment of tolls at frequent intervals.

At the southeast corner of Thirty-seventh and Market streets stands the last of the commissioners' halls, a relic of the days before the consolidation of the city municipalities. This building originally was erected for a Masonic hall, and several lodges of that fraternity used to meet there. About 1850 the Commissioners of West Philadelphia, which had been erected into a borough in 1844, and who had formerly held their meetings in a schoolhouse at Thirty-third and Ludlow streets, and in Keen Hall, then on Market street west of Thirty-third, removed to the building at the southeast corner of Thirty-seventh and Market streets, which they renamed Commissioners' Hall.

There is still another relic of the early days of West Philadelphia

in the headquarters of the West Philadelphia Engine Company, which structure was occupied up to the time the city fire department was organized. This building is now numbered 3420 Market street.

On Market street, a little west of Thirty-seventh, the Western Provident Society and Children's Home was founded in 1851. The organization was chartered in 1858 and afterward erected the present building at Forty-first and Baring streets. The title of the institution has since been shortened to The Western Home for Poor Children. It maintains on an average sixty or more white children.

Until about ten years ago the West Philadelphia Institute occupied its building at the northwest corner of Fortieth and Ludlow streets. It was one of the group of mechanics' institutes which came into being in the early 50's. There were five of them in all, one the city proper, the City Institute, still in active service at Eighteenth and Chestnut streets, and one in each of four districts—Spring Garden, Southwark, Moyamensing and West Philadelphia. The latter was incorporated in 1853, at which time it occupied a building on Thirty-ninth street, north of Market. The West Philadelphia branch of the Free Library occupied quarters in the Fortieth street building, until its new home at Fortieth and Locust streets was completed about ten years ago. The original purpose of the Institute having been supplanted by other agencies, especially the growth of the Free Library, the old building was sold.

From Forty-second street to Forty-ninth street on the north side of Market, or rather from Forty-fourth street, now, runs the walls of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, familiarly known to old Philadelphians as "Kirkbride's," after the name of the first superintendent, Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride. This large estate was the property of Paul Busti, whom we mentioned as living on Twelfth street below Market about the close of the eighteenth century, in one of the houses south of Dunlap's mansion. Mr. Busti was an Italian by birth, but had been in commerce in Amsterdam before coming here in 1799 as agent for the Holland Company. The house on the estate was built in 1794, and the farm, with its mansion house, were occupied by Busti from about the beginning of the last century until his death in 1824, as his country place. In 1836 the property was purchased by the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital for their newly planned department for the insane. About twenty years ago Markoe street was opened through the grounds, and now there is a movement on foot to have the property acquired by the city for a park and a recreation centre, but principally in an effort to aid transit in that part of West Philadelphia.

In 1913 citizens of West Philadelphia succeeded in having an ordinance to cut Forty-fourth street through the grounds of the hospital passed by City Councils. In a legal battle which followed with

WILLIAM PENN HOTEL, 3817 MARKET STREET
A stage to Newtown Square set out from here until 1897

PAUL BUSTI'S HOUSE, AT FORTY-FOURTH STREET
It became the residence of Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride

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the hospital corporation, the right of the city to open the street was sustained by the Court of Common Pleas. In appeals successively to the State Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court of the United States, whither the hospital authorities carried their opposition, the decision of the lower court was sustained.

The opening of the Market street elevated and subway railroad, in 1907, was responsible for the building up of Market street from Forty-sixth street to the City Line, at Cobb's Creek. Before the advent of the road there were numerous vacant lots and even farm lands in the neighborhood of Fiftieth street and westward, but within a few years, or while the elevated structure was in the course of erection, these lands were rapidly covered by rows of houses and stores, and a new city came into being, thus proving the correctness of the prophecy made as far back as 1840.

The old woolen mills of E. Wrigley, now occupied by the United Gas Improvement Company at Farragut street, alongside Forty-sixth street station of the Market street elevated road, were for many years a landmark on the West Chester road, as this part of Market street then was known. It was the custom to give a popular name to mills, which was branded upon their products; so this one bore the name "Good Intent Mills." Until about forty years ago Mill creek passed the mills to the east, and in those days ran through the hospital grounds.

Just beyond the hospital grounds, until about twenty-five years ago, ran Rabbit lane, a diagonal road which originally crossed Market street near Fiftieth, but later had to be entered from Fifty-second and Walnut streets. This road ran in a southwestern direction down to Baltimore avenue, and near the latter road, then the Chadd's Ford turnpike, was an old farm house which had been obtained by a party of well-known horsemen in Philadelphia, such as Captain Joseph Lapsley Wilson, Wayne MacVeagh, A. J. Cassatt, Edward Rogers and Hartman Kuhn. These organized themselves into a driving club called the Rabbit, after the farm on Rabbit lane. From 1867 until 1872 the house on Rabbit lane was occupied by the club, but later the headquarters were removed to Hay lane, and not so many years ago to a spot near Christ Church Hospital, just outside the bounds of the West Park.

On the old maps of eighty years ago, from a point about Forty-fifth street, west, we find scattered widely apart the names of Lewis Biles, at Forty-fifth street; Pennel, a little west; and further on Cuthbert, Gamber, J. Sellers, Hoffman and Plankley. At Fifty-sixth street stood the Farmers and Mechanics Inn; at Fifty-ninth street, the Blockleyville Hotel; and at Sixtieth street, the Cross Keys Tavern, the site of a theatre of the same name. At the end of Market street runs Cobb's creek, the county line, passing through the recently opened Cobb's Creek Park.

APPENDIX

DIRECTORY OF MARKET STREET, 1918, 1801 AND 1785

No directory of Philadelphia appeared before the year 1785, when within a week, two reference volumes with that title were published—MacPherson's and White's—both now rare. A manuscript directory compiled from these by John McAllister, many years ago, has been made the basis for the names on Market street in 1785. These, of course, have been checked up, and the list is believed to be accurate. Neither of these volumes, nor any of the directories published prior to about 1810 made any effort to list occupants of streets west of Tenth street as the population became thin at Ninth, and consequently the comparisons with sites of present-day buildings necessarily stop at Ninth street. However, for the sake of comparison, some business places are listed westward to Seventeenth street, by using the business directory of 1859.

NORTH SIDE, DELAWARE AVENUE TO FRONT STREET

	1918	1801	1785
1 13	Ridgway House	William Phares, Market Street Ferry House	Charles Syng McLaughlin & Taggart, Grocers
5	Greenwald, Cigars	William Gray, Grocer	
7 9	Ridgway Confectionery		Ralston & Holmes, Store
			John Cook
			Ralston & Holmes
11	Ridgway Barber Shop	Margaret Agnew, Grocer	Bennett & Somers
13	Homestead Farms Lunch	Samuel B. Eyre, Hatter	Joseph Donaldson, Jr.

WATER STREET

15	United Cigar Stores Co.	John Crothers, Tailor	James Long
17	The Handy Shop	Jacob Clements, Grocer	William Jackson

SOUTH SIDE, DELAWARE AVENUE TO FRONT STREET

	Davis Hotel		
2	Montague & Co., Candy	Z. and W. C. Whitall, Grocers	Paul Beck, Jr.
4	————, Saloon	John Micklejohn, Grocer	Fisher & Roberts, Grocers
6 8 10	Schwoerer's Lunch	Andrew Boyd, Shop	John Rugge
		Thomas Munns, Tavern	John Maclin
		Wm. Newell, Grocer	Robert Turner, Tavern
			Thomas Vowel
12	Tuck Cigar Company	George McDowell, Tailor	

WATER STREET

14	Sam'l Loeb, Saloon	Jacob Clarke, Grocer	John Campbell, Store

NORTH SIDE, FRONT STREET TO SECOND

101	W. H. Flood, Saloon	Thomas Peacan, Grocer	Joseph Johnson
103	P. B. Mingle Co., Seeds	Abraham Sink, Hardware	Sam'l and James Fisher, Merchants
105	John P. Nickles, Candy	————————	Sam'l Fisher, Hats
107	John McCloskey, Saloon	James Carman, Hats	John Baker
109	Rapid Transit Co.	Edward Collins, Cheese	James Withy, Hats
111	Trolley Curve	Nathan Ball, Merchant	Matthew Preston
		Thomas Bishop, Bottler	
113 115	W. H. and G. W. Allen, Hardware	Joseph Bispham, Hats	Christian Stemble
		James Trueman, Tin Plate	
117	John C. Townsend & Sons, Teas and Coffee	George Roberts, Cutler	Josiah Crisen
		Peter Meneday, Mariner	
		Charles and Joseph Pleasants, Iron	John Poyntel, Stationer

	1918	1801	1785
119, 121, 123	B. S. Janney & Co., Jr., Wholesale Grocers	Jacob C. Wikoff, Drugs	Jacob Baker, Merchant
125	The Moore Seed Co.	Mrs. Mary Cresson, Widow Haines & Jones, Merchants	William Ball, Magistrate
127		Ellis Yarnall, Iron	William Pritchard, Books
129	Coates Brothers, Wool	Rogers & Donaldson, Shop William Ball, Gentleman	Mary Jacobs
131	American Stores Co., Groceries	Edward Clemans, Fruits Samuel Bispham, Hats William Henry, Coppersmith	John Layman
133	W. A. Colescott Co., Brushes		
135	Rogers & Miller, Hardware	Philip Sommerkamp, Drugs Thomas Rose, Merchant	Geo. Hunter, Drugs
137	M. B. Strouse & Co., Wines and Liquors	Benj. Horner & Son, Iron Jacob Parke, Ironmonger Hall & Sellers, Printers	Jacob Parkes Thomas Cullin William Hall
139, 141	O. and B. Maguire, Whiskeys	James Hutton, Ironmonger Atkinson Rose, Tailor	Thomas Fitzgerald John Miller Curtis Clay
143	Julius C. Strehlaus	John Richards, Ironmonger	David C. Claypoole Henry Land
145	————————, Loan Office	John Hughes, Shopkeeper	

SOUTH SIDE, FRONT STREET TO SECOND

100	A. Ulrich, Tobacconist	John Lindsay, China	
102	Shellenberger, Candy	Jacob Earnest, Fruits	Eleazer Oswald, Coffee House
104	A. Bozzano Fruit	Malcolm Wright, Coppersmith	Eleazer Oswald, Printer
106	George Eales, Restaurant	Robert Aitken, Printer	Robert Aitken, Printer
108	Philip T. Mattson, Teas	James Taylor	Vincent Pelose, Pennsylvania Coffee House
110	Shane Candy Co., Candy	Nathaniel Thomas, Teas	Thomas Seddon, Books
112	Feitig & Son, Meats	Wm. Y. Rogers, Merchant	
114	American Stores Co., Groceries	Richard Hopkins, Ironmonger	Richard Hopkins, Ironmonger
116	Schmidt, Saloon	Alexander Fullerton	Edward Pole

LETITIA STREET

118	George W. Wagner, Provisions	Daniel Perrin, Shoes Jacob Kanous, Shoes	John and James Whitehead John McCallister
120	Wm. Moland's Sons, Meats	John Carrell, Ironmonger	Benj. Nones, Broker
122	El Basco Cigar Mfg. Co. Express Office	Wm. Pearson, Hats Margaret Bosborn	Deborah Claypoole Jonas Phillips
124	Phœnix Paint and Varnish Co.	Benjamin Clarke, Clocks Wm. Shibe, Grocer	Henry Manly, Shop Abraham Sink
126	John H. Wood Co., Drugs	Henry Manley, Shoes	Alexander Fullerton
128	Rieder's Money Loan Office	Martha Fox, Milliner	Mary Finley, Shop
130	E. S. Hann, Meats	Anthony Simmons, Jeweler	
132	John Holeton, Restaurant	Sam'l Alexander, Jeweler	Geo. Wittinghum & Co.
134, 136	Horn & Hardart, Restaurant	James H. Cole, Hats Michael Kean, Shoes	Dunlap & Claypoole, Printers Wm. Thomas, Shop
138	J. P. Nickles, Candy	Jonathan and Thomas Dungan, Grocers	Wm. Adcock, Shop
140	Thron, Saloon	James McGlathery, Ironmonger Francis Courtney, Shoes Smith & Conard, Shoes	

SOUTH SIDE, SECOND STREET TO THIRD

201	Columbia Spa, Restaurant	Fred'k Shinckle, Grocer	Peter January
203	Matlack, Kern & Co., Hardware	Saulnier & Wilson, Drapers	Margaret Henderson
205	Wm. F. Englehart, Jewelry	Jacob Hamer, Tailor	Paul Beck
207	H. J. Glocke, Corks	Burr Ridgway, Merchant Hannah Hodge	
209	S. K. Miler, Shoes	Michael Newbold, Merchant John Willis, Shoes	Elizabeth Redman John Hall
211		Margaret Hall, Shop	
213, 215, 217	Kensington Carpet Co., Furniture	Enoch Green, Tavern Benj. Harbeson & Son, Copper Jacob Benninghove, Jr., Tobacconist	Benj. Harbeson Mary Brown Joseph Brown
219	Stokes Seed House		
221	Fisher, Bruce & Co., China	Abraham Patton, Clocks	John Evans Geo. Roberts, Ironmonger

GRINDSTONE ALLEY

	1918	1801	1785
223	National State Bank of Camden	Joseph Price, Hats Benj. and Myles Griffiths, Hats	Owen Biddle Lambert Wilmer
225	Army and Navy Store	Mary M'Alister, Store	
227	Mintzer & Kneisler, Butchers' and Bakers' Supplies	Wm. Ross & Co., Merchants Geo. Abbott, Drugs	Joseph Cruikshank Rebecca Carmalt
229	A. Sindaco, Clothing	Joseph and James Cruikshank, Books, Stationery	Joseph Paschall
231	, Lamps		Deshler & Roberts, Ironmongers
233 235	Acorn Knitting Mills H. J. Auerbach & Co.	James Guilbest & Co., Merchants	Wm. Jackson
	Anderson & Barr, Corsets	Leeson Simmons, Mariner Joseph Simmons, Ironmonger	Margaret Stark Robert Smock
237	F. W. Winne & Son, Twine	Sarah and H. Crispin, Shop James Darrach, Hats	
239	M. Segal, Hosiery	C. Roberts, Ironmonger	Freese & Chancellor, Merchants Miss Dally
241 243	Market St. Novelty Store Howard Jewelry and Loan Co.	Jonathan Carrnalt, Shop Caleb Carmalt	Widow Roweman John Bartram, Drugs
245	Besser Bros., Clothing	Wiltberger & Smith, Ironmongers	John Knight
247	The J. E. Fricke Rope and Twine Co.	Samuel Archer, Merchant Wm. Chancellor & Co., Mchts.	
249	Goldstein, Shoes	Isaac Pearson, Paper	
251	Express Office	David Seeger, Candy	
253	———	Mary Daly, Shop	
255	Steinberg Bros., Wholesale Notions	John Walker, Ironmonger Michael Baker, Tin	
	Reliable Photo Studio	Donald Catnach, Fruit Thomas Hirst, Tin	
257	Keystone Clothing Mfg. Co.		
259	Surefit Skirt Co.		

SOUTH SIDE, SECOND STREET TO THIRD

200	United Cigar Stores Co.	John Elliott Cresson, Conveyancer	———
	Rosenkoff & Sharp, Boys' Pants		
	S. K. Miller, Shoes		
202 204	A. R. Underdown's Sons, Men's Furnishings	Joseph B. Smith, Iron Widow Kitts, Innkeeper	Richard Humphries, Goldsmith
206	Liggett's, Drugs	John Arnold, Shoes	
208	W. Stomel & Son, Clothing	Robert Taylor, Fruits	
210 212	H. Lipschutz, Clothing	Joseph Melsson, Grocer James Costalo, Shoes	
	M. Greengross, Coats and Suits	Charles Wall, Glover James McDonald, Tavern	
214	R. A. Tollinger, Optician W. F. McCaffrey		John Harland

STRAWBERRY STREET

216	A. Stein, Jeweler	Matthias Lamar, Silversmith	Benj. Betterton, Cooper
218	David Hilborn, Hats	Thos. Kelly, Shoes	Spotswood & Rice
220	General Express Office	Griffith Edwards, Grocer	John Hemill
222	C. A. Longstreth Co.	Esther Vrendenburg, Shop	Wm. Lawrence, Tavern
224	Potts Drug Co.	Isaac Vrendenburg, Mariner	Charles Pryor, Grocer
226	Finkelman Bros., Tobacco	Wm. Holdernesse, Mcht.	Mary Jones, Shop
228	B. B. Todd, Musical Instruments	Mary Baker, Shop	Robert Towers
230	Porto Rico Coffee Mills	Lewis Taylor, Shop	Evans Towers

BANK STREET

232 234	L. H. Parke Co., Teas and Coffees	Michael Kitts, Innkeeper	——— ———
236	B. C. Tillinghast, Rubber Goods	Earl Downs, Shoes	Shakespeare & Compston
238	John F. Jelke Co., Margerine	Thos. Hockley, Iron	Joseph Anthony, Jewelry

BODINE STREET

	1918	1801	1785
240	Levitzky & Winer, Coats and Suits A. Weinrach, Hats Girard Dress Co.	Isaac C. Jones, Dry Goods	Comegy's, Paul & Co. Sidney Paul
242	Market St. Restaurant	Hopkins & Howell, Iron	Geo. Westcott
244	Union Shoe Repairing Reliable Clothing Co.	Samuel Meeker, Shoes	
246	First National Bank of Camden Mandel Bros., Clothing Junior Clothing Co. Dickman, Axelrod & Perlman, Hats		Mary Garrigues
248	Charles Hunt, Saloon	Peter Grassard, Grocer	Robert Smith, Hats

NORTH SIDE, THIRD STREET TO FOURTH

301	Thos. Scanlon, Saloon	Richard Wister & Konigmacher, Iron	John Kean
303	Post Cigar Co.	Anthony Ruston, Fruits	Wm. Kepley
305	Barnett Shoe Co.	Samuel Brooks, Glover	Conrad Pates
307	Plauen Lace Co. Menkle Bros., Clothing	Catharine Brooks, Widow	Robert Porter
309	H. B. Hanford, Rubber Shoes	Eliz. Smith, Shopkeeper	Henry Commerce
311	Central Shoe Mfg. Co.	Henry Schell, Tin Plate	Aaron Ashbridge
313	John F. McIlvaine Co., Wholesale Shoes	Ann and Sarah Ashbridge, Shop	Ruth Collins
315	Weil, Bachrach & Co., Men's Furnishings	John Porter, Brush Mfgr.	James Shoemaker
317	A. Schwartz & Sons, Shoes	Edward Shoemaker, Mcht.	Adam Zantzinger
319	E. C. Vahle, Pets Back—A. P. Fraim, Builder	Mrs. DeCharms, Boarding	Jones & Foulke
321	Markovitz Bros., Wall Papers	Sam'l Eldredge, Mcht.	Israel Whelan
323	Seltzer Bros., Coats and Skirts M. Charlup, Clothing Manufacturer	Thomson & Price, Mchts.	Caspar Synger & Sons
325	Epstein, Laison & Co., Auctioneers	John Cook, Mcht.	
327	Bloch Bros., Hosiery	Thomas Wister, Gentleman	William Geese
329	S. Bookler Figure Co. American Mnfrs. Co., Pottery, Glass H. Shatz, Waists	Gideon H. Wells, Gentleman	Daniel Wister
331	Eastern Auction House	John and Abraham Singer, Mchts.	Wister & Aston
333	Market Street Theatre	Lohra & Carlile, Mchts.	Reuben and Caspar Haines, Brewers
335	Mexican Diamond Co.	Garrigues & Marshall, Mchts.	Emanuel Josephson
337	Willy's Busy Bee, Café Miller & Greenburg, Clothing Brettschneider Bros., Pants	Daniel Wister, Gentleman Wm. and John Wister, Jr., Mchts. John M. Price, Mcht. John Lisle, Jr., Mcht. Benj. and Jacob Johnson, Printers	Owen Jones, Sr. J. Jones and D. Foulke
339	Automat—Restaurant	Back—Twells Morris & Co., Brewery	Jared Ingersoll
341	Phil. M. Cades, Men's Furnishings C. C. Hancock Co., Neckwear	Jacob Justice & Co., Mchts. Jonathan Jones, Mcht. Owen and Jonathan Jones, Mchts. Jesse Sharpless, Dry Goods Laurence Seckel, Wine Mcht.	Laurence Seckel

SOUTH SIDE, THIRD STREET TO FOURTH

300	Cadmus Bros., Shoes	John Fries, Merchant	Jail
302	American Neckwear Co.	Geo. Dobson, Merchant	
304	Weintraub Leather Co.	Joseph Anthony, Goldsmith	
306	Marks, Strausman & Co., Auctioneers	Robt. Evans, Jr., Hats Jonathan Lukens, Saddler	Poultney & Wistar
308	Max Weinroth, Hosiery Model Cap Co.	Joseph Hardy, Innkeeper	Henry Kepley
310	Riggs & Brother, Watches	Mrs. Rachael Greble, Innkeeper	Peter Wiltberger
312	Hoffman-Corr Co., Rope, Flags N. Myers & Son, Clothing	Bradley & Keighler, Coppersmiths	Randolph Marlow
314	Neimrow & Hirsh, Auctioneers	James Poultney, Iron	
316	H. M. Lakoff, Candy, Tobacco, etc.	James Humphrey, Printer	Thos. Poultney & Sons

SOUTH ORIANNA STREET

	1918	1801	1785
318	Schimmel Electric Supply Co. M. Sussman, Son & Steinberg, Clothing	Charles Gilchrist, Mcht.	Emanuel Seger
320	Bakery and Lunch Co.	Seth Craig & Co., Saddlers	James Bryson
322	———	Chas. Schroeder, Confectioner	Jehoshophat Polke
324 326	Pioneer Knitting Mfg. Co.	Robt. Bass, Drugs John Collet, Sea Captain	Robert Bass Francis Bailey
328	Joseph Lipman & Son, Underwear	Mathew Carey, Printer	Francis Shingle
330	———	Klaer, Graff & Co., Mchts.	John Grafts
332	Philadelphia Notion and Novelty House Rheinheimer Bros., Clothing	John Gravenstone, Fruits	John Phile
334	Ideal Shoe Co. B. Mandel & Son, Clothing	John Poultney, Iron Poultney & Cumming, Hardware	Thos. Poultney
336	Schiff Bros., Stationers	Wm. Richard, Skin Dresser David Richards, Hats	Wm. Richards
338	Hess & Co., Men's Furnishings	H. Crossman, Grocer	Grier, McCarter & Co.

NORTH SIDE, FOURTH STREET TO FIFTH

401 403	Central Trust and Savings Co.	John Davis & Co., Mchts. Richard Maris, Mcht.	Michael Gratz Francis Lee
405	———	Wm. W. Smith, Mcht.	Susannah Stanley
407	———	Lawrence Herbert, Shop	Chamless Allen
409	De Cou Bros. Co., Shoes	John White, Drugs	Patrick Hare
411	H. Herold & Son, Clothing	Cresson & Waln, Mchts.	Thomas Gowcher
413	Kenner & Gustow, Laces	Stephen Phipps, Shop	Isaac Connelly
415	W. G. Hollis, Chocolate	Philip Stimel, Tobacco Roberts & Lyne, Copper	John Knorr

PARADISE ALLEY

417	N. J. Dilworth, Hardware	Henry Kennedy, Innkeeper	Wm. Stanley, Sr.
419	Express Office	Lewis Mathey, Clock Maker	Wm. Stanley, Jr.
421	Fisher & Dutkin, Raincoats	Joseph Blaine, Bottles	———
423	C. D. Gibbon & Son, Wholesale Shoes	John Knorr, Cooper	Kuhn & Risberg
425	———	Robert Coe & Son, Brush Mfgr.	Thomas Forrest
427	———	Godfrey Twells, Brewer	———
429	Lesher & Warner Dry Goods Co.	Shannon & Poalk, Auctioneers William Shannon, Auctioneer	———
		Back—Sam'l Sullivan & Co., Potters	James Porter
431	Zimmerman Hardware Co.	Peter Kulin, Mcht.	Widow Bemen
433	Subway Entrance	Benj. Scull, Hats	
435	Gem Jewelry Shop	Parke & McFarland, Grocers	Peter Bashier
437	Economy Shoe Store	Geo. Willig, Musical Magazine	Jacob Barge
439	Shane Candy Co.	Benj. Wetherill, China Mcht. Elizabeth Cottinger, China Jacob Barge, Gentleman	Barge & Nelson ———
441	David Netter & Co., Liquors	John and Charles Ellet, Iron Jacob Sherry & Co., Mchts.	———

SOUTH SIDE, FOURTH STREET TO FIFTH

	———	John Decamps, Mcht.	Geo. Cooper
402	United Cigar Stores Co.	Wm. Jones, Saddler	John Brown
402 404	Max Elfman & Co., Clothing	Wm. McDougall, Hats T. B. Freeman, Mcht.	Col. Jos. Shippen John Steinmetz
406 408	Bell Telephone Co.	Mary Nicholas Geo. Davis, Grocer	——— Widow Jenkins
410	Stuart Bros. Co., Stationers	Lewis Farmer, Innkeeper	Sam'l Nicolas, Tavern
412 414	Philadelphia Talking Machine Co.	John Biddle, Drugs Wm. Phillips, Saddler	Widow Greenleaf John Dixon, Tobacco
416	Rockwood Knitting Mill	James Smith, Iron	Widow Wistar
418	I. Rosenberg, Umbrellas	Pancoast & Walker, Iron	John Davidson, Saddler
420 422	William R. Gordon, Stationer	John Riple, Tobacco	Jesse Greenleaf Robert Roberts
424	Newark Shoe Co.	Bickham & Reese, Merchants	Wm. Facundas
426 428	Lincoln Silk Knitting Mills	Wm. Rihle, Leather John Poultney, Sr., Iron	Daniel Clymer, Attorney Geo. Bickham
430	Moskovitz & Herbach, Sporting Goods	John N. Hagenau, Mcht. Adolph Ehringhaus, Mcht. Joseph Baldesqui, Gentleman	———
432	Dennett's Restaurant	Geo. Heyl, Tobacco	Geo. Reinholdt, Books
434	Phil. Sander, Post Cards	Martin & Holmes, Saddlers	John Stein
436	A. Baraff, Clothing Mfgr.	Ebenezer Branham, Innkeeper	———
438	I. N. Simon & Son, Seeds	Aimé Lavenir, Grocer	———
440	Peermont Cigar Co.	Geo. Sheaff & Co., Wine Mchts.	Ezra Jones

NORTH SIDE, FIFTH STREET TO SIXTH

	1918	1801	1785
501	United Cigar Stores Co.	Guier & Diehl, Mchts.	Samuel Hudson
503	Haverford Cycle Co.	Joseph Dilworth, Ironmonger	Israel Jones
505	B. B. Abrahams & Co., Army and Navy Goods	Henry Zantzinger, Mcht.	Dr. James Dunlap
507	New England Sample Shoe Market	John Guier, Wine Mcht.	Simon Staticorn
509	Samuel S. Novor, Coats	Jacob Hassinger, Mcht.	———
513	Hall, Boles & Co., Dry Goods	William Bates, Tobacco	———
515 / 517	Edward Whitehill, Furniture	Frederick Eckstein, Mcht. Widow Pemberton	Chas. Chamberlain ———
519	L. H. Hartman & Son, Sporting Goods	Thos. Passmore, Tin Plate	John Pemberton
521	Shields & Bro., Hardware	Wm. Bell	Thos. Palmer
523	———	Wm. Phillips, Gentleman Thos. Smith, Gentleman	Wm. Bell, Mcht.
525	Beam-Fletcher Corp., Truck Service	Jacob Shoemaker, Insurance	Doctor Moore Ebenezer Large
527	———	Lewis Neill, Mcht.	
529	Wm. Mann Co., Blank Books, etc.	Henry & Boggs, Mchts. Alex. Henry, Mcht.	Christopher Waggman
531	J. G. Grieb & Co., Boots and Shoes	Richard Humphreys, China John Clein, Mcht.	Dr. Joseph Redman
533	National Uniform Co.	Nathan and David Sellers, Wire	Nathan Sellers
535	Seltzer-Klahr Hardware Co.	———	———

SOUTH SIDE, FIFTH STREET TO SIXTH

500	C. Moore & Co., Twines	Cochrane & Thursby, Mchts.	———
502	National Uniform and Equipment Co.	Wm. Jones, Gentleman	———
504	Bassett Ice Cream Co.	Edward Lynch, Mcht.	———
506	Henry J. Rife, Leather	Jonathan Miller, Mcht.	———
508	Rudolph Toy and Novelty Co.	———	———
510	———	Abraham Kinsey, Gentleman	William Sheaff
512	———	———	
514	———	Henry Sheaff, Wine Mcht.	Widow House
516	R. D. Wilson Co., Novelties	———	
518	Henry F. Michell Co., Seeds		
520	American Clothing Co.	Anthony and John Kennedy, Mchts.	William Jones
522	Simon Miller & Sons, Shoes	———	———
524	G. Zorn & Co., Novelties	———	———
526	E. H. Patton & Co., Rwy. Supplies	John Francis, Hotel	Robert Morris, Mcht.
528	J. A. Schwartz Co., Jewelry Novelties		
530	———		
532 / 534	Wanamaker & Brown,	———	———
536	Oak Hall	Robert Kid, Copper Mcht.	John Dickinson, President of Pennsylvania

NORTH SIDE, SIXTH STREET TO SEVENTH

601 / 603 / 605	Snyder Bros., Clothing	Hugh and John Jackson, Mchts. John Grandom, Gentleman	Joseph Donaldson, Sr. John Grandham Conrad Ryng
607	Dr. Cauffman, Specialist	Joseph Reed, Attorney Thos. B. Zantzinger, Attorney Susannah Stanley, Boarding	——— ———
609 / 611	Edw. K. Tryon, Sporting Goods	Peter Cress, Saddler John Smith, Gentleman	Captain Budden John Rozes
613	———	John Capp, Grocer	Thomas Smith, Loan Offices
615 / 617	Penn Furniture Co.	Chas. Biddle, Prothonotary James Knox, Grocer	John Nancanoue, Surveyor ———
619	Gately & Fitzgerald, Furniture and Clothing	Dubbs & Earl, Mchts.	———
621	———	John Smith, Ironmonger	———
623	Glanz, Hall & Co., Carpets and Rugs	Jacob Reese, Mcht.	Christopher Tord
625	Sheibley-Tyler Co., Hosiery	Joseph Warner, Carpenter Back-Gideon Co., Coopers	John Parker, Shop
627	———	James N. Taylor, Grocer	Nicholas Rape
629	Quaker City Rubber Co.	Rugan & Rhodes, Grocers	Philip Trinloc
631	Army Supply Co.	Adam Hains, Grocer	Geo. Shields
633	Chas. J. Fields Sons, Hardware	Eliz. Febiger, Gentlewoman	John Lukener
635	———	Samuel Fulton, Grocer	Claphamson
637	Zavakos & Bro., Candy	———	Francis Roushes Geo. Bryning

SOUTH SIDE, SIXTH STREET TO SEVENTH

	1918	1801	1785
600	United Cigar Stores Co.	Joshua B. Bond, Mcht. Peter Gravenstine, Fruits	William Jones
602	Bainbridge, Shoes	Henry C. Helmuth, Minister	Israel Whelen
604	Auction House	John Mickle, Grocer	———
608	Joel Baily Davis Co., Hosiery, White Goods, Notions	Geo. Strayley, Innkeeper	Thos. Craig
909		Wm. Marley, Shoemaker	Dominick Fishpack
610		Peter Eigelberner, Baker	Michael Shoemaker
612		Philip Dick, Grocer	David Kennedy, Sec. of The Land Tax
614	Mershon, Jewelry	Adam Lechler, Reedmaker	Chas. Young
616	Akron Tire Co.	Thomas Pearson, Saddler	———

MARSHALL STREET

618	Ruby Theatre	Wm. Thomson, Grocer	William Turner
620		Chas. Barrington, Fruits	Geo. Ingles
622	Kruglin Bros., Clothing	John Tomlinson, Innkeeper	Edward McCowen
624	George Kelly, Installments		Mary Mathews
626		Joseph Lehman, Drugs	James Finley
628			Baltis Emerick
630	Auction House	Thomas Graham, Grocer	Nicholas Rash
632	Frank H. Crammer, Saloon	———	John Dunlap
634	Gates, Candy	———	Nicholas Mocks Charles Steltz

NORTH SIDE, SEVENTH STREET TO EIGHTH

701	Lit Brothers Department Store	Philip Stein & Co., Mchts.	Widow McCullough
703	"	Henry Steever & Co., Mchts.	———
705	"	Owen and Chas. Foulke, Mchts.	Thomas Murgatroyd
707	"	John Kibler, Flour Martin Odenbaugh, Hairdresser	——— ———
709	"	John Perot, Mcht.	Jeffry Garret
711	"	J. H. Brinton, Attorney	———
713	"	Peter Lex, Grocer	———
715	"	John Dunwoody, Innkeeper	———
717	"	Jacob Trasel, Grocer	———
719	"	Richard North, Stonecutter	———
721	"	Henry W. Muhlenberg, Wine Mcht.	———
723	"	Geo. Sheaff, Wine Mcht.	———
725	"	———	———
727	"	———	———
729	"	———	———
731	"	Elliston Perot, Mcht.	———
733	"	———	———
735	"	———	———
737	"	Israel Whelen	———
739	"	Purveyor of Public Supplies	Widow Walker

SOUTH SIDE, SEVENTH STREET TO EIGHTH

700	Penn National Bank	Jacob Cox, Mcht.	———
702		G. Simon and Hyman Gratz, Mchts.	———
704	Hess, Men's Furnishings	Baltis Emerick, Baker	Richard Randle
706	———	Batt Doyle, Distiller	Jacob Carter
708	———	———	———
710	"The Famous Lunch"	———	———
712	Stern & Co., Instalments	Eliz. Rouse	Rebecca Shoemaker
714		John Hinckle, Potter	Benj. Shoemaker
716	———	Geo. Apple, Hairdresser	———
718	Yellow Trading Stamp Premium Store	Thos. Murgatroyd, Mcht.	Christopher Boyes
720	Kohn, Adler & Co., Trimmings	Sam'l Murgatroyd, Mcht.	John Brayfield
722	———	Thos. Cadwalader, Attorney	———
724		Henry Steever, Grocer	———
726	Smith & Hartnett, Millinery	John Watson, Mcht.	Henry Creamer
728	———	John Hills, Surveyor	———
730	Horn & Hardart, Restaurant	Mary Hills, Academy for Young Ladies	Wm. Lowman
732	Geo. B. Evans, Drugs	Benj. Chew, Attorney	
734	Hanscom Bros., Groceries, Lunch	Wm. Rawle, U. S. Attorney	
736	United Cigar Stores Co.	Geo. Wescot, Copper Mcht.	

NORTH SIDE, EIGHTH STREET TO NINTH

	1918	1801	1785
801	Strawbridge & Clothier's Department Store	David Seckel, Grazier	Geo. Sickle
803	"	Robert Fielding, Coachmaker	David Sickle
805	"	Clayton Earl, Mcht.	Eliz. Damon
807	"	Geo. Davis, Grocer	James Talbot
809	"	Ezekiel Maddock, Grocer	
811	"	John Guest, Merchant	
813	"	Geo. Davis, Law Books	
815	"	Samuel Breck, Gentleman	
817	"	Geo. Reinold, Gentlemen	
819	"	Robt. Fielding, Coachmaker	
821	"	Caspar W. Morris, Brewer	
823	"	Rebecca Shoemaker, Gentlewoman	
825	"	Sam's Plasants, Mcht.	
827	"	Paul Sieman, Mcht.	
829	"	———	
831	"	———	
833	Blauner's Women's Suits	———	
835		———	
837	F. and W. Grant, 5c, 10c and 25c Store	———	
839	Bachrach, Clothing	———	

SOUTH SIDE, EIGHTH STREET TO NINTH

800	Gimbel Brothers Department Store	John Smith, Marble Mason	John Whittle
802	"	Joel Wescott, Carter	
804	"	———	
806	"	M. Gunkle	
808	"	Simon Gratz, Grocer	
810	"	Wm. Hamilton, Carpenter	
812	"	Thos. Leiper, Tobacconist	
814	"	A. J. Dallas, Secretary of Commonwealth	
816	"	Paul Beale, Cabinet-maker	
818	"	———	
820	"	———	
822	"	———	
824	"	———	
826	"	———	
828	"	———	
830	"	———	
832	"	———	
834	"	———	
836	"	———	
838	"	Oliver Evans, Dealer in Bolting Cloths, etc.	

NORTH SIDE, NINTH STREET TO TENTH

	1918	1859
901	Palace Jewelry Shop	Geo. W. Henry, Hardware
903	Dennett's Restaurant	———
905	Corsin Bros., Women's Apparel	Pemberton Smith, Hardware
907		E. McGovern, China
909	I. Press & Sons, Jewelry	R. D. Manigle, Stoves
911	Automat Restaurant A. Schulte, Cigars	P. R. Johnson, Dry Goods
913	Victoria Theatre	———
915		H. Longstreth, Books
917		———
919	P. T. Hallahan, Shoes	E. L. Nicholas, Dry Goods
921		
923	———	———
925	S. E. Kresge, 25c Department Store	S. P. Hanner, Saddler
927		Joseph J. Mickley, Pianos
929	Hanscom Bros. Restaurant	John W. Shellenberger, Hotel
931	S. E. Kresge Co., 5 and 10c Store	———
933		G. Brintzinghoffer, Brushes
935		William Pollock, Carpets
937	Thomas Martindale Co., Grocers	John Hollins, China
939		Swope & Co., Grocers

SOUTH SIDE, NINTH STREET TO TENTH

	1918	1859
900	Post-Office	
902	"	
904	"	E. Matlack, Boys' Clothing
906	"	John Hagey, Confectionery
908	"	R. Davis, Boots and Shoes
910	"	Thomas E. Baxter, Hardware
912	"	Hagner Bros., Dry Goods
914	"	B. Schultz, Jeweler
916	"	Fowler & Townsend, Confectionery
918	"	M. Gerstley, Clothing
920	"	A. Freiday, Clothing
922	"	Robert Buist, Seeds
924	W. T. Grant Co., 25c Department Store	" " "
926		Smith's, Hats
928	M. Spitzer, Millinery	H. Hilly, Boots and Shoes
930	L. Dannenbaum Son & Co., Silks	Robert Taylor, China
932	Otto Eisenlohr & Bro., Cigars	Samuel Hano, Clothing
934		Monroe, Boots and Shoes
936	Rexford Co., Gifts	
938	Harry Quinn, Saloon	
940	Andrew Forbes, Liquors	Samuel Hano, Clothing
942	United Cigar Stores Co.	E. Franklin, Boots and Shoes
	Kauffman, Hats	

NORTH SIDE, TENTH STREET TO ELEVENTH

1001	The Earle Store	
1003	"	Emerick & Son, Hardware
1005	"	B. Randall, Bedding
1007	"	J. Colton, Hardware
1009	"	
1011	"	W. H. Knight, Hardware
1013	"	G. B. Haines, Dry Goods
1015	"	
1017	"	W. J. Warren Cabinet-maker
1019	"	R. D. and W. H. Pennell, Dry Goods
1021	"	T. A. Bailey, Auctioneer
1023	"	
1025	Rival Shoe Co., Inc.	Bull's Head Hotel, Dan'l Bare
1027	Stewart, Women's Apparel	" " "
1029	Hill Co., Clothing	" " "
1031	Henry Netter, Wines	James Robinson, Jeweler
1033	Frank & Seder, Women's Apparel	Graham & Martin, Grocers
1035		V. Archambault, Dry Goods

SOUTH SIDE, TENTH STREET TO ELEVENTH

1000	Child's Restaurant	
1002		Sleeper's, Umbrellas
1004		E. Isaacs, Clothier
1006	Metropolitan 5 to 50c Store	James B. Hollins, China
1008		J. S. Clark, Stoves
1010	Geo. B. Evans, Drugs	
1012		J. Graham, Clothing
1014		John H. Brown, Boots and Shoes
1016	Neiser Bros., 5-10-25c Store	Mary Lewis, Tavern
1018	Princess Theatre	D. Ray & Son, Clothing
1020		Adolph Klopfer, Clothing
1022	F. W. Woolworth 5 and 10c Store	John Struthers & Co., Marble Works
1024		R. S. Walton, Hats
1026		Samuel Bond, Boots and Shoes
1028	Jerome H. Remick & Co., Music	J. C. Stevens, Boots and Shoes
1030	Schless, Jeweler	
1032	Newcorn & Green, Tailors	
1034	Sarnoff-Irving, Hats	Thomas S. Brown, Boots and Shoes
1036	Hanover Shoe	
1038	Guilford, Men's Furnishings	
1040	Montague & Co., Candy	John Mirkil, Boots and Shoes
1042	New Bingham Hotel	Mansion House, Stamp & Lukens

NORTH SIDE, ELEVENTH STREET TO TWELFTH

1918		1859
1101	Geo. B. Wells, Hats	J. H. Parker, Grocer
1103	John Litras & Co., Candy	Charles McNeal, Tinner
1105	Peermont Cigar Co.	James Barr, Books
1107	Market Street National Bank	T. M. Kerr, Grocer
1109, 1111	Philadelphia Inquirer	F. G. Fraser, Cabinet-maker
1113	W. L. Douglas, Shoes	R. H. Burnett, Jeweler
	Entrance to Reading Railroad Offices	
1115, 1117	Reid & Fort, Men's Furnishings	R. E. Johnson, Cabinet-maker
1119		
1121		
1123		
1125	Entrances to Reading Terminal	Black Horse Hotel, T. R. Kachline
1127		
1129		Barton & Smiley, Grocers
1131		Robert Martin, Cabinet-maker
1133	Finley Acker Co., Grocers	
1135		
1137	Cohen's Drug Store	
1113 to 1137	Reading Terminal	

SOUTH SIDE, ELEVENTH STREET TO TWELFTH

1100	N. Snellenburg Co., Department Store	Campbell Bros., Grocers
1102	"	J. B. Capewell, Ambrotypes
1104	"	Louis Hano, Clothier
1106	"	Hart & Phipps, Stoves
1108	"	Pfeil & Bro., Hats
1110	"	William Dunn, Carpets
1112	"	E. Isaacs, Clothier
1114	"	
1116	"	J. Spear, Stoves
1118	"	
1120	"	
1122	"	P. McIntyre, Clothier
1124	"	Samuel Hill, Stoves
1126	"	
1128	"	H. J. White, Ranges
1130	"	
1132	"	C. Williams, Ranges
1134	"	William Miller, Carpets
1136	"	J. Woodward, Flour
1138	"	
1140	"	J. McKnight, Stoves
1142	"	William Patton, Grocer

NORTH SIDE, TWELFTH STREET TO THIRTEENTH

1201	Hotel Bryson	E. W. Fisher, Dry Goods
1201	United Cigar Stores Co.	
1203	Child's Restaurant	E. Warwick, Cabinet-maker
1205		
1207, 1209	J. G. McGrory Co., 5 and 10c Store	J. T. Linnard, Hardware
		D. Mershon, Ranges
1211	Savoy Theatre	John V. Buck, Tinner
1213		Samuel Field, Cabinet-maker
1215	Theodore Netter	John Brown, Porter House
1217	United Hat Stores	
1219, 1221	George B. Evans, Drugs	John W. Clark, Tavern
		Allen Walton, Plumber
1223	Morris Gross, Jeweler	C. D. Cassady, Baker
1225	Horn & Horn, Restaurant	
1227	Keim Supply Co., Sporting Goods	Albert Gleason, Stoves
1229	Cugley & Mullin, Pet Shop	D. and M. McColgan, Grocers
1231	Ostendorf, Saloon and Restaurant	J. Kisterbock & Son, Ranges
1233	W. P. Walters Sons, Hardware	Wm. P. Walter, Hardware
1235	Schless, Jewelry	
1237	Colonial Trust Co.	John Davis, Books
	Jonas, Candy	

SOUTH SIDE, TWELFTH STREET TO THIRTEENTH

	1918	1859
1200–1202	The Bedell Co., Women's Suits	S. Smucker, Jr., & Co., Grocers R. Ligget, Cabinet-maker
1204–1208	Dalsimer, Shoes	T. Toner, Boots and Shoes
1210–1212	Riker-Hegeman Co., Drugs	W. A. Martin, Boots and Shoes Stephen F. Whitman, Confectionery
1214–1218	Palace Theatre	E. L. Thomas, Jeweler Mary E. Stuart, Cake Baker L. Knowles, Flour
1220–1222	Hardwick & Magee Co., Carpets	Jeremiah Christman, Tavern Filley & Harvey, Silver Plate
1224	Newark Shoe Co.	
1226	The Regal Shoe Co.	
1228	The Walkover Shoes	
1230	A. H. Geuting Co., Shoes	
1232	Hanscom Bros., Restaurant	
1232	J. C. Zimmerman, Shoes	
1234	M. Sternberg, Men's Furnishings	
1236	Charles L. Parkes, Optician	
1238	Montague & Co., Candy	F. Campbell, Hats
1240	Peter Rabbit, Hats	B. M. Brown, Clothier

NORTH SIDE, THIRTEENTH STREET TO JUNIPER

1301	United Cigar Stores Co.	George Bell, Drugs
1301	Lefkoe Optical Co.	J. Booth, Dry Goods
1303	Marcus & Co., Inc., Printers	Pekin Tea Co.
1305	Frank I. Reizner, Shoes	
1305	Guilford, Men's Furnishings	
1307	Truly Warner, Hats	
1309	Dennett's Restaurant	
1311	Family Theatre	Jacob Emery, Hotel
1313		
1315	Geo. B. Wells, Hats	
1317		
1319	Entrance, Globe Theatre	
1321	Automat	H. T. Standbridge, Hardware
1323	C. E. Morris, Jewelry	John Bradley, Hotel
1325	United Cigar Stores Co.	

SOUTH SIDE, THIRTEENTH STREET TO JUNIPER

1300 to 1330	John Wanamaker, Department Store	Freight Station, Pennsylvania Railroad

NORTH SIDE, BROAD STREET TO FIFTEENTH

1918	1850
Broad Street Station, Pennsylvania Railroad	Unimproved

SOUTH SIDE, BROAD STREET TO FIFTEENTH

	1918	1859
1426–1428	Third National Bank	John Folyard, Books W. Soffe, Boots and Shoes
1430	Carr Brothers, Saloon	A. P. Millis, Cabinet-maker
1432	Chas. N. Pappas, Candy	John Mahon, Men's Furnishings
1434–1436	Arcade Building	H. R. Lewis, Cabinet-maker Amos H. Yarnall, Drugs

NORTH SIDE, FIFTEENTH STREET TO SIXTEENTH

1501 to 1541	Elevated Roadway, Pennsylvania Railroad	1501 Robert Black, Grocer 1509 Western Exchange Hotel 1513 Suter & Shiver, Tinner 1515 H. Deamer, Saddler 1521 Guilliard & Marshall, Drugs

SOUTH SIDE, FIFTEENTH STREET TO SIXTEENTH

1918		1859
1500	Harrison Building	John Devine, Grocer
1502	Franklin Trust Co.	
1504	Dowling & Keegan, Saloon	Ward & Brown, Paperhangings
1506	Market Street Warehouse Co., Pawnbrokers	
1508	Horn & Hardart, Restaurant	John Kane, China
1510		Emma Elseberg, Millinery
1512	Mulherin, Saloon	E. Robinson, Dry Goods
1514	Beckers, Clothing	
1516		M. A. Stewart, Dry Goods
1518	Warner's Men's Furnishings	
1520	John Thommen, Restaurant	Charles Evans, Ambrotypes
1522		

MOLE STREET

1524	United Cigar Stores Co.	
1524 to 1542	Keystone Hotel	
1526	Entrance, Office and Bar of Hotel	John Lomax, Clothier
1528		A. Sharp, Hair Jewelry
1530		P. Coleman, Dry Goods
1532		J. Joel, Fancy Goods
1534	Geo. I. Eakle, Hats	E. McPhilomy, Dry Goods
1536	M. Friedman, Jewelry	Mrs. E. Walton, Millinery
1538	Supplee, Hardware	
1540	———————, Men's Furnishings	F. B. Elliott, Dry Goods
1542	H. C. Nuss, Candy	

NORTH SIDE, SIXTEENTH STREET TO SEVENTEENTH

1601 to 1637	Elevated Roadway, Pennsylvania Railroad	1601 Walter Graham, Grocer
		1617 W. B. Barrett, Grocer
		1619 Daniel B. Beitler, Hotel
		1623 W. H. Taylor, Boots and Shoes
		1633 C. and R. J. McCune, Grocers
		1635 J. Creswell Hunt, Boots and Shoes
		1637 U. C. Bishop, Cabinet-maker

SOUTH SIDE, SIXTEENTH STREET TO SEVENTEENTH

1600	L. S. Dickey, Hats	Mrs. J. Richardet, Millinery
1602	Howard H. Herbein, Jewelry	Eiseman & Bro., Clothing
1604	N. J. Dilworth, Hardware	Lare & Walkey, Boots and Shoes
1606	Paul's Garage	Morris & Jones Co., Iron
1608		"
1610		"
1612		
1614		
1616	Stanley Theatre	
1618		
1620		Walter Hunter, Hats
1622		
1624	H. L. McPhilomy, Dry Goods	
1626	Cronin, Saloon	J. W. Clarke, Umbrellas
1628	S. Shepherd's Sons, Cigars	Mrs. Small, Millinery
1630	Pine Bros., Candy	W. S. Ringgold, Dry Goods
1632	Regent Theatre	Thos. Furey, Boots and Shoes
1634		H. A. Pue, Dry Goods
1636	Daniel Dever, Whiskies	S. Bisbing, Boots and Shoes
1638	Pentomy, Saloon	D. B. Richards, Dry Goods
1640	Deft Devices Co.	
1642	Eastern Tire Co.	R. A. Poulson, China
1644	Money Loan Office	C. Clayton, Boots and Shoes

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